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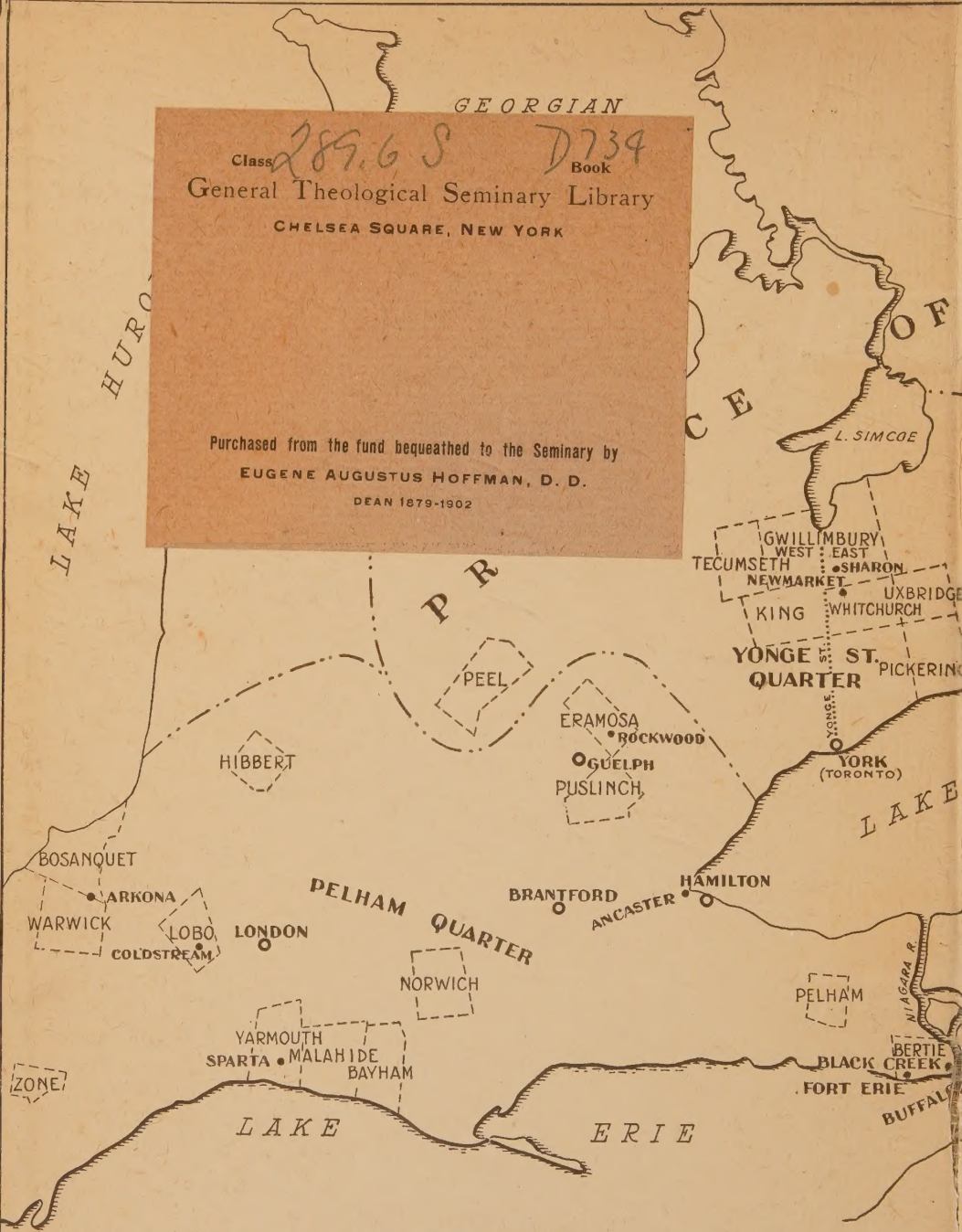
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MAP SHOWING
TOWNSHIPS IN UPPER CANADA (ONTARIO)
WHERE FRIENDS PRINCIPALLY SETTLED


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APPENDIX (a)



A HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY OF
FRIENDS (QUAKERS)
IN CANADA



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A HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS (QUAKERS) IN CANADA

By

ARTHUR GARRATT DORLAND, Ph.D.,
Professor of History in The University of Western Ontario



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TO MY WIFE
WHOSE SYMPATHY AND ENCOURAGEMENT
MADE THIS WORK POSSIBLE

PREFACE

WHILE the works of Samuel M. Janney, William C. Braithwaite, Allen C. Thomas, and Rufus M. Jones are standard histories of Quakerism in Great Britain and in the United States, no one has ever attempted to trace the history of the Society of Friends in Canada. That is the justification for this essay.

The field for such an enquiry was first realized when about ten years ago the author was asked to read a paper on the occasion of the fiftieth Anniversary of the establishment of Canada Yearly Meeting. The attempt to gather materials for this paper led to the discovery that the available data were very scattered, and that in many instances the old records either were mislaid, or were so mutilated by age or abuse as to be practically useless. Many records had passed into the hands of persons no longer connected with the Society, or—most unfortunate of all—had been lost completely. It was apparent that with every passing year the problem of reconstructing the early history of the Society in Canada was becoming increasingly difficult, with the result that much of the story of the early Quaker migration and of the first Quaker settlements in Upper Canada would be irrevocably lost.

Through the co-operation of many kind friends—too numerous to mention individually—a considerable number of the old records were eventually gathered together, or made available for examination. These old manuscript records have formed the basis of this history. These records also contain a wealth of genealogical material bearing on the pioneer families of Upper Canada that is invaluable. Another main source, as indicated in my bibliography, has been the Journals and Memoirs of prominent Friends who at one time or another have visited Canada. Very little other contemporary material has survived. The paucity of personal or biographical material has been a decided handicap in this work. Such materials as were available have been used as

much as possible in the effort to give life and character to the bare narrative of events. As far as most of the standard histories of Canada are concerned, the Quakers might never have existed. An odd reference here and there may be found, but many of them are misleading, if not quite incorrect.

Canadian Friends were a simple, agricultural folk. They wrote few letters—or at least few have survived—and they kept few diaries. They were too busy living to keep a record of how they lived; and it is chiefly for this reason that such a large dependence has to be placed on the records of visiting Friends from England and the United States, who have recorded their impressions of the country and of these early meetings. These Quaker Journals therefore form a unique contemporary record of conditions in Canada during this pioneer period that heretofore has never been drawn upon.

Early Friends in Canada were pioneers in the field both of material and religious endeavour; and though it is difficult to estimate such things with exactness, they have left their impress on the life and thought of the young Canadian nation. If in these pages, religious separations among Friends appear to have been unduly stressed, it is only because they had such a far-reaching influence on Quakerism, and also because an understanding of these separations throws considerable light on the development of religious thought on the continent of America, a phase of history that has been too little understood. While my aim has been to describe impartially and accurately this record of events, I have had to pass judgment on many questions of extreme delicacy and sometimes of a controversial character. The opinions expressed herein are my own, and occasionally they have been advanced in spite of the remonstrances of my friends.

Special acknowledgments are due to the following for data and valuable assistance: Mr. Albert S. Rogers of Toronto, to whom more than anyone else I am indebted; John Cox, Jr., of New York; Dr. R. W. Kelsey, Librarian of Haverford College, Pa.; Norman Penny, LL.D., of the Reference Library of the Society of Friends, London, Eng.; Miss Frances Staton,

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University of Western Ontario,
London, Canada.

October, 1927.

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CHAPTER I

THE ORGANIZATION, DISCIPLINE AND DISTINCTIVE TESTIMONIES OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

BECAUSE in the chapters which follow there has been assumed of necessity some knowledge of the organization, discipline and distinctive testimonies of the Society of Friends, this introductory chapter has been written either for those to whom much of this matter may be unfamiliar, or for those who while familiar with it are interested in discovering how these forms of discipline and distinctive testimonies were interpreted by the little groups of Friends who—during the latter part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries—established themselves in Canada. While their numbers were insignificant, not so we venture to think was the influence of their organization and ideas which have touched at many points the life of the young Canadian nation.

During the early, formative period of Quakerism in England and in America—or during what might be called the apostolic period when George Fox and the first leaders of the Society were still living—there had been no fixed organization or discipline. In fact the idea of a separate church or religious denomination had not been seriously considered by the early Quaker leaders. They did not regard their movement as the beginning of a new church, but rather as the return to apostolic primitive Christianity which in its rediscovery of Christ's way of life—as they interpreted it—would eventually draw to itself the whole family of Christian people the world over. Thus would be gathered together the true Church of Christ, consisting of all those who had experimental knowledge of His Way of Life. After the death of the first leaders of the Society when the first impulse of missionary zeal had largely

spent itself and when it became apparent that only a few were willing to follow the Quaker interpretation of Christianity, the new leaders of the Society began to apply themselves to the task of perfecting "a spiritual remnant" of those that remained to carry on this special task. It was during this later period of Quakerism that the growth of organization and discipline was most marked, and when (under the influence of Quietism) the Society began to develop those customs, habits and traditions of "a peculiar people" on which later so much emphasis was placed. At the close of the eighteenth century, therefore, when Friends began to migrate into Canada, the form of their organization had become fixed, so that with very slight variations it has continued practically unchanged down to the present day. While later in the nineteenth century divisions occurred in the Society owing to minor differences in doctrinal interpretation and in practice, the form of organization or church polity has remained the same for all groups belonging to the Society of Friends the world over.

Though certain democratic features in the organization of the Society have superficial resemblances to Congregationalism, the church polity of the Society is actually quite different. While Congregationalism or Independency recognizes the supremacy of the individual congregation, the Society of Friends recognizes the Yearly Meeting (composed of subordinate Quarterly, Monthly and Preparative Meetings) as the unit of authority. The Yearly Meeting is not a strictly delegated body, but every man and woman who is a member has an equal right to speak on any matter that may come before it. Each Yearly Meeting—as its name implies—is held annually and exercises jurisdiction over a certain geographical area within which its subordinate meetings are situated. It is the final court of appeal, and the authoritative interpreter of its Discipline. Its decisions are binding on all the meetings within its jurisdiction.

Each Yearly Meeting is quite independent of other Yearly Meetings on all matters of faith and practice, nor is it amenable to the others either singly or combined. While this

is the case, Yearly Meetings belonging to each branch are not completely isolated from one another, but are united in various ways. (1) A member in one place is received as a member everywhere else by his own branch of the Society; and if he brings suitable official letters with him, becomes an active member of the meeting to which he removes.* (2) A minister if he removes within the limits of another Yearly Meeting is, on presenting the proper credentials, received without further action as a full minister. (3) Ministers of one Yearly Meeting, who feel it right to travel and labour as preachers elsewhere, are received (if presenting proper credentials) without transfer of their membership, and are assisted in their work, for the time being putting themselves under the authority of the meeting where they happen to be. (4) Each Yearly Meeting addresses to all the others belonging to its section of the Society every year an "Epistle" expressing Christian sympathy, and giving information as to its work.† (5) There are various Inter-Yearly Meeting organizations officially recognized. Thus the "Hicksites" have their Union for Philanthropic Labour, and on Indian Affairs; and the "Orthodox" have their Associated Committee on Indian Affairs, the Peace Association of Friends in America, and the American Friends'

* As evidence, however, of the growing unity at the present day between the so-called "Orthodox" and "Hicksite" branches of Friends in Canada and the United States, a person having his membership in a meeting belonging to one branch of the Society may also be a member of a meeting of the other branch, with equal privileges in both. Some organic form of union may be worked out, though this will probably come about slowly. The causes of the Separation which produced these two branches are discussed in Chapters VIII. and IX.

† These Epistles have been a distinctive feature of Quaker practice, and they have played an important part in the development of the Society. They have not only been a means of formulating the doctrinal ideas of the Society, but the acceptance or rejection of an Epistle has usually been the means of expressing unity or disunity with another Yearly Meeting, and—if the latter—of breaking off association therewith. For example, since London Yearly Meeting was the Mother Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, the receiving of an epistle from London Yearly Meeting by a Yearly Meeting on the American continent, was regarded as a recognition of its authoritative position within the circle of Orthodox Yearly Meetings. The practice of epistolary correspondence is still continued; but in recent years it has greatly broadened out, so that—with a few exceptions—there is a free exchange of Epistles among all the Yearly Meetings of Friends in both hemispheres.

Board of Foreign Missions.* In recent years the American Friends' Service Committee which in co-operation with English Friends had charge of Relief Work in Europe both during and since the Great War, has been an important factor in bringing all the Yearly Meetings of Friends on the American continent into closer co-operation and unity.

The sessions of the Yearly Meeting are opened and closed with short periods of silent worship, and the business is conducted with peculiar dignity. After the introduction of each important item of business there is usually a short pause during which Divine guidance may be sought. The presiding officer or moderator of the Yearly Meeting is the Clerk. Each of the subordinate meetings likewise has its Clerk. His duties differ widely, however, from those usually associated with a presiding officer; because in conducting a Friends' Meeting for business no vote is taken and the usual forms of parliamentary procedure are not observed. The duty of the Clerk is neither to count votes nor to give a decision himself; but after a question has been placed before the meeting and there has been opportunity for full discussion both *pro* and *con*, the Clerk draws up in the form of a minute what appears to have been the wish of the corporate group—or in the Quaker idiom—he “takes the sense of the meeting.” If this minute is approved it is forthwith recorded as the decision of the meeting. But if opposition is expressed, the proposed minute may be further discussed or amended until a general agreement is reached. Failing this agreement, the Clerk either lays the matter over for decision at a later meeting, or refers it back to the Executive Committee of the Yearly Meeting (The Representative Meeting) to bring in a proposition which will be acceptable to the meeting.† The object of this unique way

* These points are developed by Allen C. Thomas, *A History of Friends in America*, Phila. 1908, pp. 13-14.

† The following is a characteristic phrasing of a minute relating to some knotty problem upon which no unity was reached :—“ *After carefully feeling after the true judgment, the meeting concludes to let the subject rest on our minutes for further consideration.* ”—*Records of Norwich Preparative Meeting, 1861.*

of conducting business is to convince rather than to force. It allows an expression of minority opinion, while it cultivates the habit of sympathetic understanding and helpful co-operation to secure united action. This method is rooted in the Quaker ideal of religion which presupposes "the presence and fellowship of the Spirit", and depends on "a deeper unity of love underlying all diversity and difference of idea". This method of conducting business is a distinctive feature of Quaker organization and practice; and one is driven to the conclusion that if Friends had always been true to this ideal, the later regrettable Separations would never have occurred.

Each Yearly Meeting is divided into Half Yearly or Quarterly Meetings which—as their names imply—meet either twice or four times a year.* The Half Yearly or Quarterly Meeting is largely a supervising body. It receives reports from its constituent Monthly Meetings and summarizes them for the information of the Yearly Meeting. The assent of this Meeting is required before a new Monthly Meeting can be established within its limits. It is a court of appeal from decisions of the Monthly Meeting.

The Monthly Meeting, while subordinate to the Quarterly Meeting, is the principal executive and disciplinary body so far as the membership is concerned. All local property is held in the name of the Monthly Meeting, which has power either to disown members for infractions of the Discipline, or to receive or reject new members, as the case may be. The regular officers of the Monthly Meeting are the Clerk, the Elders, and the Overseers. The general method of conducting the business of this meeting is the same as that already described in connection with the Yearly Meeting.

Early in the history of the Society, the Ministers and Elders were not very clearly differentiated, but by a process of evolution the Elder became a person of very great authority

* In Canada the superior meeting was the Half-Yearly Meeting until after the Separation of 1828. The "Hicksite" branch continued the old name and form of organization. The "Orthodox" branch reorganized their meetings as Quarterly Meetings. See Chapter XI.

and influence. The office was for life, unless for some reason an Elder should "lose his (or her) usefulness in the meeting", thus making it necessary to appoint someone more suitable in his place.* The Ministers and Elders together formed a distinct "Meeting of Ministry and Oversight" which was a "select body", that is to say only Ministers and Elders could attend it. In time this Meeting developed a distinct organization of its own with its special "Advices" and "Discipline" for the guidance of the spiritual life and practice of its members. Within the limits of each Quarterly Meeting, there was a Meeting of Ministry and Oversight in which were represented the various constituent meetings. This meeting did not as a rule meet Quarterly, but three times a year; and it submitted to the Yearly Meeting of Ministry and Oversight an annual report which was intended to present a summary of the spiritual state of the Society during the past year. The special duty of the Elders was, however, "to advise and counsel the ministers", and this control which they exercised over the public ministry made them a very important factor in moulding Quaker thought and customs.

"The Select Meeting of Ministers and Elders in a large measure matured the spiritual ideals of the Society and created the atmosphere or 'temperature' in which the Elders swathed their lives and wrapped their spirits, and under which they formed their mental habits. They acquired the power to sit through the longest meetings without stirring or moving. They never seemed to look at anything, and yet they saw everything that happened. If anybody fell asleep, they knew it. If any person was present and yet 'not gathered',†

* "The Committee to visit Benjamin B——— on account of his deviations, report they tried to get an opportunity with him which he refused, and on deliberation it is concluded to forward his case to the Monthly Meeting for its consideration; he by negligence and unfaithfulness having lost his usefulness in this meeting."—From *Minutes of Norwich Preparative Meeting of Ministers and Elders*, 1844.

† The Quaker idiom was "gathered into the Silence", by which was meant that concentrated, expectant stillness of silent worship which has been best described by Charles Lamb in his famous Essay on "A Quaker Meeting".

they were aware of it. They never looked at a time-piece and had no hour glass, and yet they knew by a kind of infallible click when it was time to close meeting.* They seemed unmoved as the desert-sphinx while some minister was preaching and no change of facial muscle betrayed in the least their approval or disapproval, but if the minister made the slightest slip in quoting Scripture, or if he deviated from 'truth', or if his garb or voice, or manner revealed that he was not 'seasoned' or 'savcury' or 'in the life', *he* would know it himself before he got home, or in the very near future. They were persons of few words, epigrammatic, crisp, swift of judgment, and, in the main, with all their rigidity and conservatism, afraid of nothing on earth except disobedience to 'apprehended Light and Duty.' They were meek and gentle to look upon, but somehow they acquired an extraordinary mastery over the membership. They were guardians of custom and they used their position and authority to preserve the plain speech and type of garb which the fathers had honoured. They were weak in historical knowledge and in reflective judgment, but they were unerring in their sense of what was *becoming* for members of their beloved Society, and without talking much they builded the structure of the Society."†

The Elders exerted a strongly conservative influence over the Society especially during the first half of the nineteenth century. The reaction in Canada Yearly Meeting against the conservative influence of the Elders was very marked at the time of the Separation of 1881; and one of the most significant changes in the new Discipline adopted in this year was the change from life Eldership to appointment for a limited period of service. This was quite clearly a frontal attack on one of the principal strongholds of conservatism in the Society.

* There was no benediction to close the meeting, or formal words of dismissal. When the ministers and elders who sat on the "high seats" facing the meeting, were satisfied that it was time to close, this was signified by solemnly shaking hands. Generally this was the signal for everyone to shake hands with the person directly next to them, and the silence would then be broken by the buzz of friendly greetings on all sides.

† R. M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism*, London, 1921, vol. 1., pp. 126-127.

The office of Overseer was another distinctive feature of Quaker organization. Since Quakerism in its origin was essentially a lay religion, there were no special persons set apart to look after the religious and moral welfare of the membership, as this was conceived to be the business of the corporate group of Friends. Later it was found advisable to set aside certain members of the meeting, distinguished for their sound judgment and for the depth of their religious insight and experience, to perform the work of shepherding the flock. In this way the functions of the Overseer gradually developed.

To guide the Overseers in their duties and to set up a norm of conduct for the membership, the "Queries" and "Advices" were gradually evolved which became the central feature of the Discipline. These Queries and Advices were amended and added to as the years passed. For as Friends became more sensitive to certain moral and social issues of the day, there naturally followed an attempt to formulate certain principles that were involved in a Query for the consideration and future guidance of the membership. In fact the evolution of the Queries and Advices as they were modified from time to time, indicate the development of the moral and social problems of the Society. In the early days of Friends in Canada the reading of the Queries and the preparing of the answers to them was one of the principal items of business in the Monthly and Half Yearly Meetings. A final summary of all the answers received from the Half Yearly Meetings was made by the Yearly Meeting, on the basis of which was determined the "state of Society". The consideration of this subject was generally the most solemn and heart-searching session of the whole Yearly Meeting; while out of the counsel and admonition given at this time would originate special "Advices" which were sent down by the Yearly Meeting to the various subordinate meetings, exhorting their members to greater faithfulness along the lines where deficiencies had been most evident. As time passed, the custom of reading the

Queries at every Monthly, Half Yearly and Yearly Meeting and preparing written answers to them was dropped, because it was felt that the answers had become more or less stereotyped and formal and were without real life. It was also felt that many questions asked by the Queries were so searching and personal that they could only be answered satisfactorily in the light of each individual experience. In the Discipline of 1881 of the Orthodox Friends, certain Queries were to be answered which were to give information only; but others of a more searching and personal character were to be read but not answered. After 1917 Genesee Yearly Meeting (Hicksite) abandoned the practice of giving written answers to the Queries, though they were still to be read and considered. This method of catechizing its members by Queries has served the purpose of keeping continually before them certain standards of life and conduct; and it has undoubtedly been an important, formative influence in the development of the Society.

The Monthly Meeting was composed of two or more Preparative Meetings which represented the smallest unit in the organization of the Society. Matters of local concern only, such as the appointment of caretakers for the meeting house property, the fencing of the grounds, the building of fires in winter, the care of burials, were items which all appear on the records of the Preparative Meeting. Infractions of the Discipline were also reported by the Overseers of a Preparative Meeting to be dealt with by the Monthly Meeting.

The nature of these infractions of the Discipline provides interesting commentary on the life of a pioneer community, and shows that despite the strict enforcement of Discipline by the Overseers, the old Adam would occasionally break out in their midst. Visitors to America during the early half of the nineteenth century have frequently commented unfavourably on the low standards of morality which prevailed in these frontier communities; and however reluctant we may be to admit it, the lapses in personal chastity which occurred in a body of such well recognized rectitude and sobriety as the

Society of Friends, is corroborative evidence of the fact.* In those days there were few outlets for legitimate amusements, and such as existed were frequently rough and boisterous, particularly the demonstration given by a community in honour of a newly wedded couple, known as a "Charivari". This and other forms of diversion were not countenanced by the Quakers. Frequent cases of disciplinary action occur in the early records in which members "had attended a noisy, unruly and unlawful assembly, called a chivaree." Three young Friends of Yonge Street were "guilty of assisting in tarring and carrying a woman on a rail"; others of "joining in a noisy company in the shooting of guns at a time called New Years"; others of "using profane language", "attending taverns", "drinking to excess", "fighting", "racing horses", "gameing". More innocent diversions such as playing cards, dancing, or allowing music and dancing in one's house were likewise regarded as "unbecoming behaviour"; and unless some suitable acknowledgment was made to the meeting expressing sorrow or admission of wrong-doing, the one who persisted in these practices was disowned.

Though social opportunities as well as many innocent diversions were severely restricted in a Quaker community, the occasion of their Yearly, Quarterly and Monthly Meetings filled a social as well as religious need in a pioneer state of society which was very simple and had few outlets for demands of this kind. Members would travel great distances to attend these gatherings which were the occasion for lavish hospitality. Indeed these were notable social events which had a large place in the life of the early Quaker community.

* The following may be taken as more or less typical instances of this kind: "Whereas Tabbi D——— by not taking heed to that which would have preserved her in a state of innocency, hath given way to keeping company in a disorderly manner and to have a child in an unmarried state, for which we disown her from being a member of our society, until she by repentance and amendment of life shall make satisfaction, which that she may is our desire." *Records of Adolphus Monthly Meeting*, 1809. "Whereas James P——— has been guilty of fornication, this meeting appoints David Willson, Asa Rogers, Samuel Lundy, to take an opportunity with him and report his case to the next meeting."—*Yonge Street Monthly Meeting*, 1809.

Plain Language and Dress

Canadian Friends, in common with the practice of the Society one hundred years ago, insisted on "plainness in dress and address"; and this matter was carefully queried each month in order to keep its importance continually before the members.* Friends' use of the "plain language"—or using the singular "thee" or "thou", rather than the plural form "you" in addressing one person,—had its origin in the days of George Fox, when the plural form was used in speaking to superiors, but the singular to equals or inferiors. But as the Quaker claimed that all men were equal in the sight of God, he refused to use complimentary titles to anyone, and addressed every individual in the singular form. Like most customs, its use was continued long after its original purpose had been served; and though rather lame attempts were later made to rationalize the continuance of the custom, its real object was to provide a distinctive badge or hedge which would separate the Quaker as "a peculiar people" from the rest of the world.

The insistence on plainness of dress had a like purpose. Both the plain language and the plain dress came to be regarded as outward signs of an inward grace, or as "the badge of a type of spiritual life". As time went by, however, plainness became an end in itself, and came to be regarded almost as "a religious form possessing in itself some mysterious, ineffable efficacy". Simplicity in dress was all that had been originally sought; but now uniformity in "plain dress" was insisted upon. To wear a coat of a certain cut (usually without a collar or lapels), or a bonnet of a certain shape and shade, or to say "thee" and "thou", came to be regarded as the signs of certain spiritual attainments which might not really exist. The general effect upon the Society was

* "Third Query : Are Friends careful to keep themselves, their own and other Friends' children under their care in plainness of speech, behaviour and apparel ; and do they endeavour by example and precept to train them up in a religious life and conversation, consistent with our Christian profession ?"—*New York Discipline, 1810*, p. 34. There was also an *Advice* on : "Plainness in Dress and Address."—*Ibid*, pp. 64-68.

inhibiting, tending to restrain the free development of spiritual interest and life in new directions.

Nevertheless during the period in which the custom of "plain" speech and dress flourished, it served a useful purpose for that time and age. It stimulated the group consciousness of the Society as a peculiar people. It gave the Society a certain cohesion and uniformity; while the sacrifice which the observance of this as well as other peculiar customs of the Society involved, cultivated among its members a deeper sense of loyalty and devotion. To-day the "plain language" is still extensively used among Friends. Many only use it in addressing members of their own immediate family or those who are Friends. As a form of affectionate address, therefore, the "plain language" still has a cherished place in the life of the Society. The use of a distinctive plain dress is observed to-day by only a few of the Conservative Friends; though the old Quaker testimony to simplicity in life and tastes still has a place in this present age of artificiality and superficial display.

A rather curious phase of Friends' testimony regarding plainness was the extension of this principle to their graveyards, which were distinguished by the absence of any elaborate monuments. In pioneer days this was more a matter of necessity than of principle. In the earliest Friends' burying grounds in Canada a rough field boulder, or slab of stone or wood, with the initials of the deceased rudely carved thereon, was often the only mark. When more elaborate methods of marking graves were introduced, Friends still insisted on a perfectly plain headstone of a certain height. In some instances when over-elaborate head and foot stones were removed by the Committee in charge of the burying ground, they were persistently replaced by the relatives of the deceased.*

In time the severe restrictions on the marking of graves were somewhat relaxed, though Friends still generally adhere

* In Malahide the Committee appointed to look after this matter reported "much opposition and a determination in some individuals to replace the stones as often as they are removed."—*Norwich Monthly Meeting*, 10/5/1854. It was finally decided to let the matter drop.

to simplicity in the arrangement of their burying grounds, and discourage the use of too elaborate and ostentatious monuments.

Peace

One of the most impressive contributions of Quakerism to the social and religious life of to-day has been through its peace testimony. We need not discuss at length the religious grounds of Friends' opposition to all war; though it may be briefly stated by saying that they believed the teaching of Christ was just as applicable to groups of people as to individuals, and that His precepts constituted a way of life which all His followers should actually try to live out here and now, rather than in some remote Golden Age. When an attempt was made to draft George Fox into the Parliamentary Army, he said to Cromwell's Captain: "I lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all war." A distinguished modern interpreter of Quakerism has expressed the same idea as follows:

"The Christianity which makes war impossible is a way of life which extirpates or controls the dispositions that lead to war. It eradicates the seeds of war in one's daily life. It translates the beatitudes out of the language of a printed book into the practice and spirit of a living person. It is not consistent for anyone to claim that his Christianity as a way of life stops him from war, unless he is prepared to adjust his entire life—in its personal aspirations, in its relations with his fellows, in its pursuit of truth, in its economic and social bearings, in its political obligations, in its intercourse with God—to the tremendous demands of Christ's way."*

This was a striking challenge to the World's way of life and thought, and it carried far reaching implications which Friends themselves did not always clearly comprehend or interpret. Nevertheless, they courageously followed the gleam of Truth as they saw it, and made a great venture of faith in their peace testimony.

In seeking the paths of peace, the Society first sought to carry out the rule of peaceable living within its own

* R. M. Jones. *Later Periods of Quakerism*, London, 1921, vol. ii, p. 718.

membership. At every Preparative and Monthly Meeting the second of the Queries (along with the others prescribed by the Discipline) were read and solemnly considered:

"Are love and unity maintained as becomes brethren; if differences arise is due care taken speedily to end them; and do Friends avoid and discourage tale bearing and distraction?"*

Arbitration and friendly conference were the methods advised by the Discipline to preserve peace where actual wrongs had been done, and always self-control, even to the extent of passive resistance.† For example, Stephen S.— of Norwich was disciplined "for striking when struck". Mordecai S—— of Yonge Street "so far deviated from the principles of Friends as to give way to passion and to strike a man in anger". Jesse P—— was "so unguarded as to quarrel and fight with another man". Hubert G—— did not quite come to blows but he "was so unguarded as to strip to fight a man and to use profane language", for which he was disciplined as well as the others mentioned above. Moreover, for many years the Society disapproved of its members invoking the law or the authority of a magistrate, but advised its members to settle all matters of dispute out of court by arbitration. If any Friend did not first try the method of peaceful settlement out of court by a request for the assistance of the Meeting to appoint arbiters, but instead immediately invoked the law, he was likely to be disciplined.

In the last chapter of this book a number of incidents in Canadian history are related in which the Peace testimony of Friends was put to the acid test. "Seeking peace and ensuing it", had very wide implications; and while Friends were not always logical or consistent, they made an honest effort to follow what they believed to be the path of duty.

Oaths

The Quaker position regarding Oaths was another distinctive religious testimony of the Society. Friends believed

* Second Query, *New York Discipline*, 1810, p. 34.

† See "Advices", "Treating with Offenders", *New York Discipline*, 1810, pp. 37-39.

that the words of Christ "Swear not at all" constituted a categorical imperative; and therefore that since the Truth was to be told at all times, the taking of a judicial oath was not only unnecessary but wrong. In the early days of Quakerism this proved to be the most costly of all testimonies. For no matter what charge was brought against a Friend, he could always be convicted by tendering him the oath. As no Friend would take the oath, he could be flung into prison for an indefinite period. The first relief was granted in the reign of William and Mary, when in 1696 Friends were permitted to make a solemn affirmation or declaration according to a form prescribed by the Act.* To most Friends, however, the use of the prescribed form was still too much like taking an oath; while for many years more, Friends were disqualified from giving evidence in any criminal causes, from serving on juries, or from bearing any office or place of profit in the government.† Finally, however, by an Act of Parliament in 1833 all exceptions were abolished, and the affirmation or declaration was accepted "for all purposes whatsoever where an oath is or shall be required".‡

The first Quaker in Upper Canada to be penalized because of his testimony regarding oaths was Philip Dorland, who was member elect for Adolphustown and Prince Edward to the first Parliament of Upper Canada which met at Niagara, Sept. 17th, 1792. Philip Dorland had already shown his allegiance to the government of Great Britain by joining the Loyalists who came to Upper Canada in 1784, and he had journeyed over Indian trails, on horseback, some two hundred miles to Niagara for the one purpose of serving his King and country in this first Parliament of Upper Canada. It so happened, however, that each member before taking his seat was required to take an oath of allegiance§ which Philip Dorland as a Quaker could not do on conscientious grounds.

* 7 and 8 William III., cap. 34.

† 8 George I, cap. 6, sec. 6.

‡ 3 and 4 William IV, cap. 49, sec. 1.

§ Prescribed in section xxix. of the Constitutional Act, 1791.

Though his loyalty was unquestioned, and he expressed his willingness to affirm instead of taking the oath, there was no provision in the Act of 1791 for such procedure; while in any case though he might have affirmed his "true allegiance to King George as lawful Sovereign, etc.", he could hardly have affirmed his willingness "to defend him (*i.e.*, the King) to the utmost of my power against all traitorous conspiracies, etc." as prescribed by the Act, inasmuch as such an undertaking implied personal combatant service which no Quaker could perform. Philip Dorland was accordingly disqualified from taking his seat in Parliament, and writs were ordered for a new election. At the close of the first session a new election returned Major Peter VanAlstine to serve as member for Adolphustown and Prince Edward for the duration of the Parliament.

Owing to the political disabilities imposed on Quakers prior to 1833 as a result of their insistence upon affirmation instead of taking an oath, they tended to disassociate themselves entirely from all affairs of politics or of government. The strong tendency towards Quietism within the Society at this time, and a complete withdrawal from the world, further accentuated this attitude. An English Friend, Thomas Shillitoe—one of the prominent leaders of the Society during the first half of the nineteenth century—expressed this extreme attitude in the following advice:

"Friends, let us not dare to meddle with political matters but renewedly seek for holy help to starve that disposition. Keep that ear closed which will be itching to hear the news of the day. Avoid reading political publications, and as much as possible newspapers."*

The Advices contained in the Discipline used by Canadian Friends for many years urged their members "to avoid offices of profit and honour in government";† because it was believed that no Friend could consistently accept such offices or perform the duties required. Several instances occur of

* *Journal of the Life and Labours of Thomas Shillitoe*, vol. ii. pp. 218-224.

† Advice re "Civil Government", *New York Discipline*, 1810, p. 102.

Friends being disowned because they accepted the office of a Justice of the Peace, and consequently not only had taken an oath themselves, but had administered oaths to others.

The passing of the Act of 1833, by which the British Parliament removed all disabilities connected with making an affirmation instead of taking an oath, was a notable turning point in the history of the Society, since it opened the way for Friends to participate actively in affairs of government. In 1833 for the first time a Quaker—Joseph Pease—was allowed to take his seat in the British Parliament upon making his solemn affirmation instead of taking the usual oath. The effect of this incident upon the Quakers in Canada and their future participation in politics was noted in 1833 by William Lyon Mackenzie who a few years afterwards during the Rebellion of 1837-38 was to draw from this group a considerable following of sympathizers if not many active supporters.* Joseph Gould, who was one of the few Quakers actively to identify himself with the cause of the Reformers in 1837-38, was also one of the first in Canada to become a member of Parliament, when in 1854 he was elected as member for North Ontario.

The last occasion in Canadian history when the question of taking an oath was a matter of difficulty to Friends, was during the Rebellion of 1837-38 in Lower Canada. It appears that some over-officious and ill-informed person had demanded that Friends in Farnham, Quebec, should take the prescribed oath of allegiance to the Crown, without permitting them the option of making the affirmation allowed without restriction by the Act of 1833. This incident together with the news of Lord Durham's intended resignation and departure from Canada, filled Friends with apprehension. Accordingly with the assistance of Joseph John Gurney—an influential English Friend who happened to be in the neighbourhood at this time

* W. L. Mackenzie, *Sketches of Canada and the United States*. Tor. 1833, p. 236. We have discussed the part played by Friends in the Rebellion of 1837-38 in Chapter XVII.

—a petition* was sent to Durham expressing the loyalty and attachment of Friends to the British Crown, and stating the hope that Lord Durham would not leave Canada. In a personal interview with Durham at Quebec, Joseph John Gurney was able to explain further the position of Friends. The result was that Durham issued a statement in which he acknowledged the loyalty of Friends and confirmed the acts of the British Parliament which had established the right of affirmation without any restriction for all British subjects in Canada.

The Quaker idea of the futility of judicial oaths has received almost universal acceptance to-day. The recent statute, for example, creating the World Court provides that every member of the Court "shall make a solemn declaration that he will exercise his powers impartially and conscientiously". The incorporation of an affirmation instead of an oath in the organization and procedure of the World Court may not unfairly be regarded as representing the most enlightened judgment of the world on this subject, and as an interesting confirmation of the Quaker position.

The question of oaths had for many years another rather unusual implication for members of the Society in preventing them from joining any Secret Order which was supposed to involve the taking of an oath. There was also a certain distrust of the alleged political activities of some of these secret societies. A number of cases of disownment are recorded in which Friends had joined either the Orange Order, the Odd-fellows, or the Masons. This feeling of opposition to "Orange Lodges and Processions, and Free Masonry" was not, however, peculiar to Friends, but was shared by the early Methodists in Canada who passed a resolution at their first Canadian Conference (held in Prince Edward County in 1824) to the effect that it was "contrary to the spirit of the gospel and to the feelings of its members for any Methodist minister to

* The petition was dated 9/10/1838, and was signed by Charles Taber, Aaron Bull and ten other Farnham Friends. For the full text of the petition and for Durham's reply see *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society*, Phila. 1912, vol. iv, No. 3, pp. 134-136.

become a member of or frequent any Masonic lodge".* As time went by this opposition died down, and though the joining of Secret Orders is no longer a matter for disciplinary action, the practice is still pretty generally discouraged among Friends.

Marriage

The Quaker method of accomplishing marriages was another of their distinctive customs and testimonies which occupies an important place in the affairs of the Society. The reason for the uncompromising attitude of the Society for so many years toward this question, lies embedded in its past history.

As early as 1653, George Fox had declared that marriage "is God's ordinance not man's . . . we marry none, we are but witnesses of it."† According to Quaker custom, therefore, a man and woman married themselves in a meeting for worship without the assistance of a priest or ordained person. They simply rose in the presence of their assembled friends and relatives in an appointed meeting for worship, and the bridegroom taking his intended wife by the hand, declared that he took this woman to be his wife, promising through Divine assistance to be unto her a faithful and loving husband until separated by death. The bride then repeated words to the same effect. Whereupon after the signing of a marriage certificate in the presence of the assembly by the husband and wife, and by their parents or near relatives, the ceremony was completed. The marriage certificate with the names of all the witnesses was then copied into the vital records of the Monthly Meeting, and thus preserved; while the original document was retained by the married couple. Every precaution was taken to avoid hasty or unbecoming marriages, and to impress on the parties concerned the seriousness of the obligations about to be assumed. Notice of intention of

* G. F. Playter, *History of Methodism in Canada*, Tor. 1862, pp. 243-244.

† George Fox's *Epistles*, vol. ii, p. 281, London, 1698.

marriage had to be sent in writing to the Preparative Meeting which forwarded it to the Monthly Meeting. Usually the intended couple were required to appear in person to state their intention of marriage before the Monthly Meeting. Two committees were then appointed, one by the Men's Meeting, the other by the Women's Meeting to enquire into the clearness of the two applicants from other marriage engagements, to ascertain whether the consent of parents had been obtained, or to see whether in the event of children by a previous marriage, their rights would be adequately guarded. If everything was satisfactory to the committee, a favourable report would be made at the next Monthly Meeting which would then give the intended couple authority to proceed with their intentions. Usually a special time and place for the marriage to take place was named by the Monthly Meeting, and a committee was appointed to attend the wedding and to see that the certificate was properly signed and recorded, and that everything was conducted in an orderly manner.

The great deliberation and the public manner of conducting Quaker marriages was the reason for their being recognized as valid in law ever since 1753 in England, which meant that they were regarded as valid in Canada as well.* It is an interesting fact, therefore, that though Quakers suffered certain disabilities because of their peculiar beliefs regarding war and oaths, they were in a more advantageous position with respect to marriages than any other non-conformist group in Canada prior to 1859. Generally speaking it was not till 1830 that a marriage was valid in law unless performed by a minister either of the Church of England or of Scotland; while it was not till 1859 that all restrictions on marriages performed by non-conformist sects were withdrawn.

* Lord Hardwicke's Act, 1753 (26 George II), cap. 33. The intention of the Act was to prevent clandestine marriages, but section xviii. excepted Quakers and Jews from the Act. The public manner of Quaker marriages made them free from legal objection. This Act has always been considered as a recognition by Parliament of the validity of Quaker marriages. I am indebted to the Hon. Mr. Justice Riddell for valuable information on this point.

This is to certify that the within and foregoing is a true and correct copy of the original as the same appears from the records of the County of Prince Edward, and Province of Canada.

Whereas

Levi Varney of the town of Sandwich, county of Carroll and state of New Hampshire, son of Simon Varney and Beriah his wife, - the latter deceased - and Eliza H. Jones daughter of John Jones and Abigail his wife, of the township of Wallcut, in the county and District of Prince Edward, and Province of Canada, having said their intentions of marriage with each other before two monthly meetings of the religious society of Friends, held respectively at Ameliasburg and West Lake in the aforesaid county and District of Prince Edward, they having consent of parents and nothing appearing to obstruct, their proposal of marriage was allowed by the meeting. There are to certify that for the accomplishment of their intentions this sixteenth day of the sixth month, in the year of our Lord One Thousand eight hundred and Forty-eight, they, the said Levi Varney and Eliza H. Jones appeared in a public meeting of said society, held at West Lake, and the said Levi Varney taking the said Eliza H. Jones by the hand, did, on this solemn occasion, declare that he took her to be his wife, promising through Divine assistance, to be unto her a faithful and loving husband, until separated by death, or words to that effect; and then the said Eliza H. Jones did, in like manner, declare that she took the said Levi Varney to be her husband, promising through Divine assistance, to be unto him a faithful and loving wife, until separated by death, or words to that effect. And they, the said Levi Varney and Eliza H. Jones, - she according to the custom of marriage, assuming the name of her husband - did a farther confirmation thereof, did, then and there, to these presents, set their hands.

And we being present, have subscribed }
 our names as witnesses thereof.

William Cunningham
 1 April 49
 Moses Bowman
 Eliza White
 Sarah Leavens
 R. Smith Jones
 Phoebe Jane Jones
 Thelma Jones
 Paul Garrett
 Eliza Garrett
 Amelia Hubbard
 Margaret Jane Bowman
 Esther Baker
 Sarah Eliza Baker
 Hannah Varney
 Anna Varney
 John White
 Abigail Esther Jones

August E. Jones
 John Jones
 William Garrett
 James H. Suckerman
 Nathaniel E. Lustinan
 Wm. W. Cunningham
 John Cunningham
 John W. Suckerman
 Vincent Bowman
 Joseph Varney
 Thomas Varney
 Wm. Baker
 Charles H. Cunningham
 James Garrett
 William Varney

Levi Varney
 Eliza H. Varney
 John Lewis
 Rev. Mr. W. Harris
 Henry Jones
 Samuel B. Cunningham
 John Young
 Henry G. White
 Mary W. Suckerman
 Charles H. Suckerman
 E. H. Davis

At no time were Quakers in Canada liable to any of these restrictions.*

But though Quaker marriage procedure was perfectly valid in law, it was slow in operation and applied only when *both* parties were members of the Society of Friends. If, therefore, a young Friend went outside the rather limited circle of the Society to find a partner for life, the marriage could not be accomplished according to Friends' Discipline, but must be performed by a Minister or a magistrate. Such a marriage was, however, regarded as a serious violation of the Quaker testimony: first, with respect to the true nature of marriage, which was in their belief an ordinance of God and, therefore, not dependent upon the mediation of a third person, ordained or otherwise: and secondly with respect to a "free Gospel ministry", which was opposed to the idea of sacerdotalism or ecclesiastical control of any kind. All the early Disciplines, therefore, had a "Query" dealing with this matter, and the principle was rigidly enforced. Not only was a person disowned for having his marriage performed by a priest, but even to be present at a ceremony of this kind was regarded as countenancing a "hireling ministry", and was likewise a "disownable offense".† This was the most frequent cause of

* In 1798 (38 George III, cap. 4) an enabling Act was passed authorizing "the Ministers or Clergymen of any congregation of persons professing to be members of the Church of Scotland, or Lutherans or Calvinists, upon receiving a proper certificate from the Quarter Sessions to marry any couple, one of whom was a member of his [*sic*] congregation." As Quakers were not named in this Act and there was no prohibition, their right remained *in statu quo*. It was not till 1830 (II George IV, cap. 36) that legal authority to perform marriages was granted to Methodists, Independents, Congregationalists and others; while it was not till 1859, by 20 Victoria, cap. 66 (Can.) that the restriction requiring a certificate from the Quarter Session to marry any couple (as prescribed by the Act of 1798) was withdrawn.

† "Sixth Query. Do any keep company with persons not of our Society on account of marriage; do parents connive at their children keeping company with such; and do any attend the marriage of those who go out from us, or marriages accomplished by a priest?"—*New York Discipline*, 1810, p. 35. The Discipline also contained a long "Advice" regarding "Hireling Ministry". The following was the usual form of "testification" against one who was disowned for this offense: "Charles Twining, a member of our Society, having deviated so far from the good order established amongst us as to accomplish his marriage contrary to the order of Friends, for which we disown him from being any longer a member of our Society, until he make satisfaction to this meeting, which that he may is our desire. Signed, Isaac Willson, Clk."—*Pelham Monthly Meeting*, 3/6/1812.

disownment and the occasion for more losses to the membership of the Society than any other.

But since the type of ecclesiasticism against which the Quaker protest had originally been made did not exist in Canada, and since Quakers were in a particularly advantageous position with respect to the legal recognition of their marriages, there was little justification for the severity of their dealings with those who married outside the Society. It alienated great numbers of their young people who otherwise would have been the heads of Quaker families, and it dried up the springs of new life at their very source.

As the bars between religious denominations began to break down, the religious exclusiveness of the Quakers was likewise modified, and their testimony against "a hireling ministry" and "marrying out" became less harsh. One young man when questioned by a committee regarding his infraction of the Discipline with respect to marrying out of the Society, said that as he had tried in vain every girl he knew within the flock, he felt justified in going outside for a wife! The Overseers evidently thought so too, and he was allowed to retain his membership in the Society. By about 1859 disownment for marrying out or for being married by a priest was not enforced in Canada so long as the individual expressed a wish to be retained as a member, and made some acknowledgment of error. Later the acknowledgment of error was no longer required; and by 1887 the Progressive branch of the Orthodox Friends had so far lost their former feeling about a professional ministry that in some meetings a regular pastor or resident minister might solemnize marriages like any other clergyman. This later custom made optional the original procedure by which a couple married themselves in a meeting for worship without the mediation of a third person, ordained or otherwise. Accordingly, among the Progressive Friends the old Quaker custom of marriage is tending to fall into disuse, thereby losing much of its original simplicity and beauty, as well as its distinctive religious significance.

Not only in its attitude towards marriages performed by a priest, but also in its attitude towards the Clergy Reserves in Canada, did the Society seek to maintain its testimony against "a hireling ministry." Under the Constitutional Act of 1791, one-seventh of the Crown lands had been set apart—in lieu of tithes—for the support of a Protestant Clergy. The revenues arising from the sale or lease of these lands was claimed by the Anglican Church by right of its position—which it was not able to maintain—as *the* Established Church of Canada. The later claim of other Protestant Churches to share in the proceeds from the Clergy Reserves, was one of the principal causes of religious and political dissension in Canada during the first half of the nineteenth century. Since the revenue arising from the Clergy Reserve lands was originally intended for the support of a religious establishment or "hireling ministry", Friends did not believe that their members could consistently lease or hold lands of this kind. In 1810 Canada Half Year's Meeting passed a resolution to this effect, stating "that it is inconsistent with our religious principles for any member of our religious Society to lease lands that are set apart or reserved by Government for the sole use and maintenance of a Protestant Clergy". No instances have come to light of disciplinary action for the violation of this self-denying ordinance which probably affected few Friends at this time. With the secularization of the Clergy Reserves in 1854, the problem ceased to be an issue in Canada, and of course ended any possible objection among Friends which may have lingered till that time.

Ministry and Worship

The Society of Friends was fundamentally an experiment in lay religion, and while this idea was never clearly formulated as one of the "testimonies" of the Society, it was nevertheless one of the most distinctive features of early Quakerism. In its origin the Society was a revolt from "the whole ecclesiastical system, with its venerable and long established claim

to be the divinely ordained channel of spiritual nutriment.”* George Fox had discovered “that the grace of God which brings salvation had appeared *to all men*, and that the manifestation of the Spirit of God was given *to every man* to profit withal”.† Friends, therefore, looked to the “Light of Christ in the Soul” which may be experienced by all, believing that “no form of Divine Grace is the monopoly of priestly caste, through whom it can be ministered to others”, and that “all believers are called to be priests in which, as in all the service of the Church, men and women are equally called to partake”. The Quaker ministry was accordingly conceived as “a spiritual service for God and Men, free and open to any, whether men or women who are truly followers of Christ, who know His life in their souls, and hear His inward voice”.‡ The Society of Friends had, therefore, no ordained or professional ministry. But if a man or a woman possessed a marked gift of stirring up the spiritual life of others, a high degree of prophetic insight, and unusual powers of speech, this gift in the ministry would be acknowledged by the meeting. The initial step of recognizing the gift of a minister was taken by the Elders who reported their judgment to the Monthly Meeting. If the Monthly Meeting “acknowledged the gift”, it was reported to the Quarterly Meeting and finally to the Yearly Meeting. Whereupon the individual would be duly recorded as a minister of the Society. Quaker ministers were not set apart as a distinctive class. They earned their daily bread as other men in their trade or profession, as the case might be. They performed no special rites. They had no special preparation for their ministry, and none was believed to be necessary beyond the preparing hand of Divine Grace. Like the Hebrew prophets of old, Quaker ministers believed themselves to be

* Caroline E. Stephen, *Quaker Strongholds*, Phila. 1891, p. 94. Caroline E. Stephen was a daughter of Sir James Stephen, and she became a Friend by conviction. Her book, *Quaker Strongholds*, was one of the most important expositions of Quakerism produced in the 19th century.

† George Fox, *Journal*, London, 1694, p. 22. The italics are mine.

‡ Book of Discipline, Part I, *Christian Life, Faith and Thought in the Society of Friends*, London, 1922, p. 81.

“the mouthpieces of the Spirit”. They spoke as they felt themselves moved, and they delivered only what they believed was directly given them to say. Almost all Quaker ministry at this early period was of this unmeditated, spontaneous, prophetic type.

The priesthood of all believers and a free gospel ministry as practised by Friends, made unnecessary the performance of special religious rites or ordinances, such as the Lord’s Supper and Baptism. Friends did not narrow down these experiences to special seasons, places or ministrants; but they believed that it was the privilege of every follower of Christ to experience continual communion with Him. The “baptism of the Holy Spirit” was the only form of baptism which they acknowledged; and this they believed was an inward spiritual experience which made unnecessary any outward act. They believed that the coming of Christ in His Spirit had put an end to the old dispensation of outward observances and that the whole teaching of Jesus was against the attaching of importance to such things.*

Closely connected with the Quaker ideal of Ministry was the Quaker method of worship which was also unique. A Quaker meeting was a corporate act of worship and spiritual communion. Since Friends believed in the actual presence and leadership of the Holy Spirit, they waited in silence to hear this Divine Voice speak to their own souls. Some person—it need not be a minister—might have a vocal message for the meeting, thereby becoming for the moment the mouthpiece of the Spirit. But spoken words were not believed necessary in order to experience the Divine Presence in their midst. They “were content to sit down together without words, that each might feel after and draw near to the Divine Presence, unhindered at least, if not helped, by any human utterance”.† This method of worship was, of course, more acceptable to those (never very numerous perhaps) who

* C. E. Stephen, *Quaker Strongholds*, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

† C. E. Stephen, *Quaker Strongholds*, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

were disposed towards mystical religion, or who were temperamentally and spiritually inclined to place the emphasis on individual responsibility and direct relation with God. It developed the intuitive, spiritually perceptive powers rather than the intellectual, critical faculties. Joseph John Gurney, one of the most highly educated ministers of the Society during the first half of the nineteenth century, believed that the too great exercise of the critical faculties in worship was "often the means of drying up the waters of life", and "that an exact method of weighing words and balancing doctrines, in what we hear, is a miserable exchange for 'tenderness of spirit' and the 'dews of heaven'".*

Another peculiarity of the Society was that they never had a formal creed. Religion as they conceived it was primarily a way of life in conformity to the mind and will of God. They, therefore, placed the main emphasis on "a Christianity of experience" rather than on a Christianity of doctrine, or of "notions" as they sometimes expressed it. They accordingly avoided attempts "to crystallize thought on matters that will always be beyond any final embodiment in human language" and which often "fetter the search for truth".

The type of ministry and forms of worship developed within the Society of Friends were essentially mystical, and they formed a part of a great spiritual movement historically known as "Quietism". These Quietist influences served to intensify and sharpen certain tendencies within the Society which in time inhibited rather than promoted its further development. Since everything must be directly initiated by the Spirit, the chief concern of the Society came to be the fear lest mere human endeavour, or "creaturely activity", should run ahead of Divine leading. There was accordingly a tendency to distrust all human effort or organization, and to disparage instrumental or secondary means of spiritual development, in the belief that nothing should be done except

* J. B. Braithwaite, *Life of Joseph John Gurney*, Norwich and London, 1st ed., 1854, vol. i, p. 116.

under immediate inspiration. There came to be a serious lack of an adequate teaching ministry in the Society, owing to the distrust in some quarters of mental discipline and scholarship, lest they exalt the things of intellect above those of the Spirit. Under these inhibitions of Quietism the ministry of the Society tended to decline. Meetings were often held in complete silence. In many of the isolated frontier meetings more especially, rather a low spiritual and intellectual level was maintained. Too frequently Quakerism became more a formal tradition and less a dynamic way of life. The results to the Society in Canada of some of these conditions will be studied more fully in succeeding chapters.*

Itinerant Ministry

But while in many frontier meetings there was not developed within their own local group a strong type of ministry and leadership, this lack was in a large measure supplied by the itinerant ministers of the Society. In Canada, as elsewhere, this spontaneous and unorganized ministry was a distinctive feature of the Society of Friends. The devoted men and women ministers who travelled throughout the length and breadth of Quakerdom were not sent on these missions by any board of officials or even by their own meetings. Their "concern" or call to perform these religious visits was—they believed—Divinely initiated and revealed. After the one who felt a "concern" to perform a religious service was inwardly convinced that he was really called to perform it, he had next to lay the proposal before his Monthly, Quarterly, or Yearly Meeting, as the case might be—depending upon the importance of the service in prospect—to secure the unity of the larger group. If after careful consideration, the corporate judgment of the group approved of the concern, the minister would then be given a "minute" liberating him for this special service, and recommending him to the love and

* See, Chapters VIII, XII, XIII.

care of the Friends among whom he felt called to labour.* The undertaking of this service by a minister often meant the temporary laying aside of his business, and the possibility of absence from home for long periods at a time—often many months, and sometimes for years. The expense of travel was met by the minister himself if his financial resources would permit; but if he was unable to assume this expense, the meeting which liberated him for the service assumed the responsibility of providing it.

The itinerant ministers were the most powerful and convincing preachers in the Society of Friends. They were in a special degree the makers and leaders of Quakerism during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Their ministry was almost uniformly of the oracular, prophetic type. They were in the main, men and women of unusual spiritual power, peculiarly sensitive to the mental and spiritual "states" of meetings or of individuals. Sometimes without any previous knowledge they would speak to the spiritual condition of an individual whom they had never seen before. The religious experiences and travels of many of these Friends have been preserved in a particularly rich literature of Quaker journals and memoirs. These writings form a valuable record not only of religious experience, but of contemporary history as well; and they have been one of the main sources upon which many of the following chapters have been based.

Quakerism in Canada was part of a notable religious movement in Great Britain and America whose history records failure as well as achievement, but which was at least

* The following is a typical "minute" taken from the records of West Lake Monthly Meeting, 10/20/1859. Eliza Brewer was a prominent minister belonging to the Orthodox branch of Friends. A brief sketch of her life is given in Chapter XI.

"Our beloved friend, Eliza Brewer laid a prospect (or concern) before us which had for some time rested on her mind of visiting in the love of the gospel the meetings composing West Lake Quarterly Meeting and appointing some meetings within the compass of each meeting. After deliberation this meeting unites with her in her prospect, she having the unity of Women Friends therein, and leave her at liberty to pursue the same as Truth may open the way. She being a minister in unity with us. The Clerk is directed to furnish her with a copy of the above minute."

a significant experiment in the life of the Spirit. An attempt to follow the history or to estimate the importance of this little group in Canada, presents many difficulties. All the Quaker meetings in Canada were in rural districts. Friends were in the main a simple agricultural folk. They left few records, and they shrank from publicity of any kind. For many years they were inclined to discourage active participation in politics and in all worldly affairs. Nevertheless, they were pioneers in the communities in which they settled, and they have in some measure left their impress on the life and thought of the Canadian people. Their influence though real was, however, of the unobtrusive, intangible kind which it is difficult for the historian to estimate precisely. Spiritual forces always present certain incalculable factors. Though the Society of Friends in Canada has never been more than a handful, the number of people—and many of them leaders in their respective communities—who can trace their Quaker ancestry, is after all surprisingly large. In fact the failure of the Society of Friends to preserve its denominational organization in many districts in Canada where at one time it flourished, has been one of the means of spreading its influence. Many of the peculiar testimonies of Friends are no longer peculiar to them, but to an increasing degree are becoming a part of the common life and thought of all Christian peoples. The influence of Quakerism as an attitude towards life and the things of the Spirit, still goes on, though in many districts its denominational organization has disappeared. The larger place given to women in the Church, the increasing use of periods of silent devotion in worship, a quickened social conscience, the growth of Christian pacifism, the marked tendency to get away from a rigid doctrinal creed as the basis of religion, and the recent movement towards Church Union in Canada, all owe something to this Quaker leaven. A little leaven may leaven the whole lump.

CHAPTER II

FIRST SETTLEMENTS IN THE MARITIME PROVINCES AND IN LOWER CANADA

*Barrington, Dartmouth, Prince Edward Island,
Pennfield, Farnham*

WHILE a prevailing tradition has associated the first Quaker settlements in Canada with the loyalist migrations to this country after the American War of Independence, historical records show that their origin extends for more than a decade in the pre-revolutionary period. So far as we know the first Quakers in Canada came from the Island of Nantucket to Barrington, Nova Scotia, fourteen years before the United States declared their independence. This Quaker migration to Nova Scotia is, however, a more or less isolated incident in the history of the Society in Canada, and has no direct connection with the main immigration of Friends from the United States to Upper Canada which began toward the close of the War of Independence and continued on a large scale down to about 1820. But inasmuch as this first Quaker settlement in Canada had a part, even though a very small one, in the beginnings of Nova Scotia, and was the first considerable immigration from New England to this district, it is worthy of passing notice.

Barrington, Nova Scotia

The circumstances connected with this first Quaker settlement at Barrington Township, Nova Scotia, were in every way unique, for they were largely centred upon the fortunes of the Nantucket whaling industry. The reasons for the migration of the Nantucket Quakers to Barrington in the spring of 1762 were mainly economic, arising from the difficulty of carrying on the whaling and fishing industry during

the recent Seven Years War.* Since about 1659 the Quakers on Nantucket Island had been engaged in the fishing industry, which by the middle of the eighteenth century had become an extensive and flourishing business, employing on an average one hundred ships a year. But aside from the ordinary risks of the business in times of peace, in time of war it was almost impossible to carry it on successfully. This was particularly true during the Seven Years War when the Nantucket fishermen suffered at the hands of foe and friend alike. For not only were the fishermen deprived of ships and cargo by French privateers, but they were also liable to be seized and impressed by the British Naval Service. They laboured, therefore, under special disabilities. As Quakers they were, of course, unwilling to participate in warfare of any kind, but their religious scruples were no more regarded as inviolable by the British than was their property by the French. The story is told, however, that on one occasion when some Nantucket Quakers were attacked by French privateers, having no arms to defend themselves and in any case refusing to take human life, they seized their buckets and deck mops and so blinded the eyes of their assailants with salt water that they were easily made prisoners.† With their religious scruples regarding war on the one hand, and the pressure of two hostile powers on the other, the position of the Nantucket Quakers was indeed a difficult one. In order, therefore, to escape impressment by the British and the depredations by French privateers, and also in order to obtain the better security afforded by the shore fishing near Cape Sable, about forty-eight heads of families removed from Nantucket Island to Barrington Township, Nova Scotia, in the spring of 1762.

From 1762 down to the outbreak of the War of American Independence, the Quaker colony at Barrington met with no more than the ordinary hazards and difficulties of those who

* Edwin Crowell, *History of Barrington Township and Vicinity, Shelbourne County, N.S.*, 1604-1870.

† "William Rotch and the Neutrality of Nantucket, Lydia S. Hitchman, *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia*, vol. i, p. 52.

go down to the sea in ships. But with the outbreak of war again in 1774 their position was even more difficult than during the previous period of hostilities. Partly because of their exposed position to attack by both sides, and partly because of their peace principles, the Nantucket colonists in Nova Scotia as well as their brethren at the Island were desirous of remaining neutral. The American Continental Congress refused, however, to recognize any rights of neutrality on the part of the Nantucket Quakers, with the result that the Nova Scotia colony suffered more at the hands of American privateers than did their more fortunate brethren on the Island from the British. In fact the American privateers had established such a definite ascendancy that by 1776 the position of the Nova Scotia fishing colony was a very hard one. In despair, therefore, they petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts for relief and a measure of protection for their fishermen, asking that they might be allowed to exchange oil and fish for much needed provisions—the lack of which they claimed threatened them with starvation; for, as their petition pathetically put it, “a long winter approaching, God only knows what will become of us”.* As a number of names of Nantucket Quakers appear on this petition they evidently endorsed the appeal of their distressed Nova Scotian brethren. But the desired relief was not forthcoming, so that eventually the majority of the Nantucket Colony, unable to improve their condition at Barrington, returned to the haven of the old Island home which they had left in 1762. In fact the original venture had been more or less a speculation from the first; and the second outbreak of war had nullified any anticipated benefits therefrom. As a result, only about a dozen families of the original colony of Nantucket Quakers remained at this time in Nova Scotia. But while they retained their connection with Friends in New England for many years, as the younger generation of those who remained intermarried with the other settlers, the characteristics of a

* See Petition of Barrington Men to the General Court of Mass., October 19th, 1776, in Crowell.—*History of Barrington Township.*

distinctive Quaker group were gradually lost; but not—we venture to say—those attributes which made them useful citizens of the community in which they lived. “By force of character”—says Crowell in a warm tribute to these Nantucket Quakers—“they constituted a clean, strong strand of the life of this Nova Scotia township.”*

Dartmouth, Nova Scotia

The return of most of the Nantucket whalers from Barrington to their Island home did not end the connection of the Society of Friends with Nova Scotia. After the War of American Independence was over the Government of Nova Scotia was anxious to increase the population and resources of the province by just such peaceable and industrious folk as the Nantucket fishermen, whose occupation demanded a special degree of courage and sobriety. In 1784 Governor Parr of Nova Scotia was carrying on negotiations with certain Nantucket Quakers to remove to Dartmouth Township, Halifax County, offering them many inducements by way of ships and equipment if they would accept his proposal and make Dartmouth Harbour the base of their whale fishing industry. In the following year Parr reported to Lord Sydney the arrival of three brigantines and one schooner with their crews and everything necessary for the whale fishery, and he expected more to follow.† In 1786 the Chief Surveyor was ordered to make a return of vacant lands in Dartmouth in favour of Samuel Starbuck and Timothy Folger, in whose names these lands were taken up, on behalf of the incoming Nantucket Quakers and their families; while an outlay of over fifteen thousand pounds was made by the Government for buildings to accommodate them.‡ “The town now took

* Among the names of those Quaker families who remained in Barrington were : Coffin, Gardner, Chapman, Swain, Pinkham, and Covel, who, as well as those who lived in Barrington for over a decade, may be regarded as among the pioneer families of Nova Scotia.—*Ibid*, Crowell, pp. 200-201.

† Murdoch, *History of Nova Scotia*, 1865, vol. iii, p. 44.

‡ Mrs. William Lawson, *History of the Townships of Dartmouth, Preston, and Lawrencetown, Halifax County, N.S.*, edited by Harry Piers, 1893, pp. 19-20.

a new start and good hope was entertained for its ultimate prosperity. The fishermen principally confined their efforts to the neighbouring Gulf of St. Lawrence, where at that time black whales were found in abundance. Sperm whales were also obtained in the waters further south. An establishment was also started for the manufacture of spermaceti. This was a remunerative industry and flourished for many years."

But in spite of this promising beginning the second Quaker venture in Nova Scotia like the first was doomed to failure, not by war this time, but by the collapse of a large Halifax company engaged in the whale fishery, which involved other businesses in ruin as well as the lesser branches of the fishing industry. "The Dartmouth branch received a severe shock which it was never able to surmount. In a short time all work ceased and the whale industry was irretrievably ruined."* The result was that when in 1792 an English company made an offer of assistance, the greater part of the Nantucket whalers again left Nova Scotia for a more promising field.

Those of the little Quaker settlement who stayed behind in Dartmouth retained their corporate identity as a religious group for a number of years, in spite of their isolation and dwindling membership. The journals of visiting Friends give us some clue to their condition. In 1795, for example, Timothy Rogers, travelling as a companion to Joshua Evans, a prominent minister from Newtown, West Jersey, visited the little remnant in Dartmouth and vicinity and found their membership reduced to something like a third of their original number. They were still maintaining, however, a meeting for worship and a Preparative Meeting which possessed the authority of a Monthly Meeting with regard to marriages.† Joshua Evans was evidently impressed favourably by the

* *Ibid*, p. 21.

† *The Journal of Timothy Rogers* (unpublished). *Journal of Joshua Evans*, volume 10, page 84, Friends' Miscellany, Philadelphia, 1837. Joshua Evans does not mention Timothy Rogers by name but refers to him as a "Friend who kindly offered to bear me company". (p. 71.) The two journals corroborate one another in many interesting details.

meeting for worship on First Day, which he says "was large for the place and proved to be a heart tendering favoured opportunity". He described Dartmouth at this time as containing between fifty and a hundred houses, and Halifax just across the bay as having about five hundred houses. Both Joshua Evans and Timothy Rogers convey the impression that Dartmouth Friends felt isolated and somewhat discouraged about their prospects and that they were particularly appreciative of the ministrations of their two visitors. Seth Coleman and Thomas Green were evidently the leading Friends in Dartmouth at this time. In 1796 Thomas Green and certain members of his family removed to Annapolis in the vicinity of which a number of Friends appear to have been residing.*

Seth Coleman afterwards removed to Nantucket, where he died in 1822.†

In the vicinity of what afterwards became Bridgetown a remnant of the Annapolis group survived for a number of years. The Hicks, Randolphs and Greens were among the leading Quaker families in this district. "Some were wealthy, but all thrifty and well-to-do. They preserved for a long time the traditions of their peculiar sect, its manners and customs, and adhered in all its simplicity to the peculiar garb of the Quakers."‡

As different members removed to other districts or were lost to the Society by marriage into other religious denominations, the little meeting at Dartmouth gradually dwindled

* In a letter to Timothy Rogers written from Annapolis 9/9/1796, Thomas Green mentions a committee (consisting of James Davies, Jethro Mitchell, Joseph Wing and William Rotch) which was appointed to visit certain Friends who had applied for membership, *i.e.*, Job Young, Andrew Crawford, Ellen Thayne (Haynes). Other friends living in this vicinity were Benjamin and William Grosvenor, Samuel Moore and Robert Randolph. This may have been the nucleus of a new meeting at Annapolis. In a letter to Timothy Rogers, dated from Hicks Ferry 3/9/1799, Thomas Green, speaking of the Annapolis meeting, said, "Often the number has increased from twenty to a hundred and some days nearly two hundred people." All these could not have been Friends. A number were probably Loyalists who had been disowned by the Society because of their active partisanship in the war.

† *Ibid*, Lawson, pp. 22-23.

‡ John Irvin, K.C., *History of Bridgetown, Nova Scotia Historical Society Collections*, vol. xix, Halifax, 1918.

away and lost its distinctive characteristics as a religious society. The descendants of the first Quaker colonists continued to live in Dartmouth and vicinity, in many cases occupying the original homesteads. For several years one of the public schools of Dartmouth was held in the old Quaker meeting house after the meeting itself was discontinued.

This building, demolished in 1893 to give place to the Central School, was, as far as any records go, the first Quaker meeting house for public worship in the Dominion of Canada.* On Block House Hill, overlooking the sea from which the Nantucket pioneers wrested a precarious livelihood, is situated a plot of ground in which many of those who did not find a watery grave lie beneath the sod. For years this old Quaker cemetery was used as a general burying ground, though later a portion of it was incorporated with the cemetery of Christ Church (Anglican).† In this and in other tangible ways the little group of New England Quakers made their contribution to the life of this Nova Scotian community. They were "a peaceable, orderly, God-fearing people. Frugal and industrious, they left their mark upon the rising village."‡ Tradition has it, that in 1814 one of the Quaker pioneers, Seth Coleman, was induced by Sir John Wentworth to vaccinate all the persons in Dartmouth and throughout the Township of Preston, and that he successfully treated over four hundred cases.§ In this useful undertaking, at least one of the Dartmouth Quakers may be said to have left his mark on the community!

Prince Edward Island

In completing our survey of Quaker settlements in the Maritime Provinces whose origins go back to the pre-revolutionary periods, mention should be made of an abortive

* The site was lot 1 and 2 in block 1, the northern corner of King and Quarrel Streets, Dartmouth. Lawson, *History of Township of Dartmouth, etc.*, p. 22. I have no data as to the year in which the house was built, but it was certainly before 1790.

† *Ibid*, p. 79.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 21.

§ *Ibid*, p. 23.

attempt at settlement in Prince Edward Island, just to the north of Nova Scotia. This venture had its origin in the efforts of a London Quaker, Robert Clark, who in 1773 for philanthropic and business reasons, purchased about 17,450 acres of land on the Island of St. John—as Prince Edward was then called. In the following year he came to the north side of the island at New London with a party of settlers, among whom were a number of “needy English friends”. No further details of the settlement appear to have survived its founder, who died about 1798. Not even a tradition regarding an early settlement of English Quakers has apparently survived either; though the actual fact of the attempted settlement has been established by documentary evidence.* Whether the presence of Quakers on Prince Edward Island before the outbreak of the American War of Independence attracted others of the same religious persuasion is not known. At any rate, as a result of the war a number of Quakers apparently went to the Island, as there is a tradition to-day regarding some elderly inhabitants that “they are descended from a few Friends who fled to the Island with other Loyalists during the American Revolution”.† Elisha Kirk in 1787 mentions a number of Friends going to Prince Edward Island;‡ but their numbers must have been few, and they soon left, or, along with the few already there, they eventually lost their Quaker connection and identity as their isolated brethren in other parts of Nova Scotia tended to do.

Pennfield, New Brunswick

There is still one important Quaker settlement in the Maritime Provinces to be mentioned before we leave this section of Canada, that of Pennfield, or Beaver Harbour.

* Two letters and a fragment of the *Journal of Joseph Roake, of his voyage from England to the Island of St. John before the Revolutionary War*, is the documentary evidence of this incident which has been investigated by R. W. Kelsey, *Quakerism in Prince Edward Island in 1774*, Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society, No. 2, vol. xii, Phila. 1923.

† Kelsey, *Quakerism in P.E.I.*—*Ibid.*

‡ *Elisha Kirk's Journal*, Friends' Miscellany, Phila. 1834, vol. vi, p. 60.

The Pennfield settlement was unique since it was the one distinctly Loyalist Quaker Settlement in Canada. But as the terms "Loyalist" and "Quaker" involve a decided contradiction which requires some explanation, and as the history of Pennfield is so closely connected with that of the Quakers in the American Revolution, it seems best to leave their history to be dealt with in the following chapter on "The American Background of the Quaker Migration to Canada."

Farnham, Quebec

In Lower Canada, Quakerism never got a foothold except in Farnham, one of the Eastern Townships south of Montreal toward the borders of Vermont. Though Friends travelled through Lower Canada from time to time, apparently there were, except in this one township, no little groups on which to build as the basis of an organized meeting. In 1795 Joshua Evans and Timothy Rogers visited Montreal, whence they afterwards took boat* to Nova Scotia in order to visit the Meetings in Dartmouth and vicinity to which reference has already been made in another connection. While in Montreal, Joshua Evans and his companion held in a Presbyterian Church a regular Quaker meeting which, according to Joshua Evans, "was the first of the kind ever held there".† Timothy Rogers says that "about a thousand persons attended" on this occasion. A large number doubtless came out of sheer curiosity, and were evidently unacquainted with the Quaker method of having a period of silent waiting at the beginning of the meeting. "Some went out"—Timothy Rogers says—"when Joshua first spoke, but when he sat awhile longer, he

* "The Four Brothers" from London bound with 8,000 bushels of wheat for Halifax Harbour.—Timothy Rogers' *Journal*.

† *Joshua Evans' Journal*, *Friends' Miscellany*, vol. x, p. 79. The church referred to in *Joshua Evans' Journal* was the first Presbyterian Church in Canada (built in 1792), and was afterwards known as St. Gabriel St. Church. The Rev. John Young from the Presbytery of Albany, N.Y., was the missionary here at this time, and assisted in organizing the first Presbytery in Canada, the Presbytery of Montreal.—C. W. Gordon, *The Presbyterian Church and its Missions, Canada and its Provinces*, vol. xi, Part 1, p. 265.

rose, spoke again and the meeting ended quietly. A number were kind." Joshua Evans also mentions the kindness with which they were received: "We found here several tender hearted people who took us to their houses, and there appeared more openness in the people of the town than we had looked for." He was much shocked, however, by the profanity of the people which "was common to both sexes, even to old grey headed men, as though they thought it an ornament to conversation."

The founder of the Farnham Meeting was Aaron Bull, who had first come from Danby, Vermont, to the district with his father Gideon in 1801, when there were scarcely half a dozen settlers.* Aaron Bull was not born a Friend, but became one by "convincement". It seems that being lost while out hunting he was obliged to spend the night in the woods. But, according to his account as afterwards related to his children, being a firm believer in God's over-ruling providence in the affairs of men, he accepted the incident as providential and became convinced that the place whereon he was camping that night should be his future home. This idea of the direct guidance of the Holy Spirit in the affairs of men so impressed him that he was drawn to the views of Friends and eventually became a member of the Society. As there were no Friends in the immediate district he applied for membership in the nearest meeting, at Ferrisburg Monthly Meeting, in Vermont, over eighty miles distant. In 1814 he was married to a Quakeress, Philadelphia Knowles, whereupon he bought the land and built a log house on the very place where years ago he had camped for the night. This was the nucleus of Farnham Meeting.

By 1826 a number of Friends from the neighbouring New England States had moved into the Township with the

* Joshua Bull, *Farnham Monthly Meeting of Friends, Province of Quebec, Canada*, Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society, No. 3, vol. ii, 1908. The records of this meeting are practically complete: Minutes of Men's Preparative Meeting, 15/6/1826-21/3/1878. Minutes of Women's Preparative Meeting, 14/9/1826-21/3/1878. Minutes of Men's Monthly Meeting, 23/5/1842-10/10/1902.—*MS. Catalogue*, John Cox, Jr., New York City.

result that a Preparative Meeting was organized in Farnham. A prominent minister visiting this district in 1830 has given the following description of the locality:

"Next morning we commenced the family visits, having Charles Tabor for pilot, and in two days and a half visited the families belonging to the Monthly Meeting, consisting of about thirty families who live pretty near the meeting house. Their settlement is new, the members are mostly youngerly Friends with growing families and live in log houses pretty near to each other, in what they call an opening, that is a number of acres cleared of the timber in the midst of a mighty forest. The soil is deep and good, the land pretty level, and the timber of great growth. In passing through the woods, an elm from its grand appearance, attracted our attention. It was the judgment of Charles Tabor and James N. Fay (his companions) that it extended eighty feet before it sent out a limb, and at that point it was thought to be two feet or more through. It was very interesting to visit those dear Friends in their families and their remote and sequestered situation, and particularly to find them under the tuition of the blessed Truth, speaking its language and showing forth its praise, gratefully evincing that godliness with content is great gain."*

In 1834 property was purchased in Farnham for a burying ground and meeting house. "In 1835 the house was completed which was the first house for the special purpose of public worship in the township of East Farnham. . . . The Society of Friends was at that time the strongest and most influential religious organization in the Township, and no doubt influenced the government and management of its public affairs."† In 1842 a Monthly Meeting was set up in Farnham under the care of Ferrisburg Quarterly and New York Yearly Meetings. The Great Separation of '28 did not apparently affect the Farnham Meeting very seriously, but the later Wilburite Separation was a heavy blow to its growth, and from the forties on the meeting gradually declined. In

* Letter from Dr. Rowland Greene of Rhode Island to his wife. *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia*, vol. ii, No. 3, 1908.

† *Ibid*, Joshua Bull, *op. cit.*



Bolton Pass
The gate-way between Vermont and the Eastern Townships

1903 the Monthly Meeting was "laid down". The adjoining cemetery which had been for years more or less a general burying ground, was continued under the care of a regularly chartered Cemetery Association, thus ensuring the perpetual care of this plot of ground which contains the dust of the first pioneers of the district.*

* See Map inside front cover. On the inset may be seen the principal places in the Maritime Provinces and in Lower Canada where Friends settled.

CHAPTER III

THE AMERICAN BACKGROUND OF THE QUAKER MIGRATION TO CANADA

*Friends and the American Revolution, The Loyalist Migration,
The Great Migration and the Westward Movement
to Upper Canada*

IN order to understand the American background of the Quaker migration to Canada some explanation might properly be given regarding the relation of the Society of Friends as a religious society and as individual members to the War of American Independence.

Since the time of its founder, George Fox, the Society of Friends has consistently adhered to its testimony against war as being contrary to the spirit of Christ and to the method by which the Kingdom of God was to be established here on earth. While Friends were obedient to the authority of the State and were loyal citizens, the authority of conscience claimed their highest loyalty.* The Quakers in the American colonies during the revolution believed, therefore, that it was right for them to maintain a strictly neutral attitude. They were to take no part in warlike measures and to give no assistance to either side, but they were also as far as possible to maintain a quiet testimony against the revolution by a refusal to acknowledge the powers of the *de facto* government. In January, 1775, the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting issued a "Testimony" which stated that the principles of Friends were "to discountenance and avoid every measure tending to excite disaffection to the King as supreme magis-

* Friends views regarding war are more fully dealt with in Chapter I, and Chapter. XVII.

trate or to the legal authority of his government. . . . We are therefore incited by a sincere concern for the peace and welfare of our country, publicly to declare against every usurpation of power and authority in opposition to the laws and government and against all combinations, insurrections, conspiracies and illegal assemblies; and as we are restrained from them by the conscientious discharge of our duty to Almighty God, by whom Kings reign and Princes decree justice, we hope through his assistance and favour to be enabled to maintain our testimony against any requisition which may be made of us, inconsistent with our religious principles and the fidelity we owe to the King and his government.”*

The position of Friends was, therefore, as far as possible to go about their usual business without exhibiting prejudice or passion against anyone, harming no one and, as a result, being generally unharmed. In fact the pretty general recognition of the sincerity and disinterestedness of Friends, and the respect they won from both sides was, considering the bad feelings engendered by the war, altogether remarkable. Interesting corroboration of this is afforded by the journals of distinguished Friends who have related their experiences during this troubled time. The two following extracts have been selected from a considerable mass of similar evidence. Elias Hicks in his journal gives the following account:

“The Yearly Meeting was held steadily during the war on Long Island, where the King’s party had ruled; yet Friends from the Main, where the American Army ruled, had free passage through both armies to attend it, and any other meetings they were desirous of attending, except in a few instances. This was a favour which the parties would not grant to their best friends who were of a warlike disposition; which shows what great advantages would redound to mankind, were they all of this pacific spirit. I passed myself through the lines of both armies six times during the war

*M. E. Hirst, *The Quakers in Peace and War*, London, 1923. See also, Bowden, *Friends in America*, vol. ii. Sharpless, *Quakers in the Revolution*, and *Quakers in the American Colonies*.

without molestation, both parties generally received me with openness and civility ; and although I had to pass over a tract of country between the two armies, sometimes more than thirty miles in extent, and which was frequented by robbers, a set in general of cruel, unprincipled banditti, issuing out from both parties, yet, excepting once I met with no interruption even from them.”*

Rufus Hall gives an interesting picture of the situation of Friends in New York who were in the path of Burgoyne’s advancing army:

“General Burgoyne made a rapid march towards us, so that by midsummer he was within thirty miles of us to the northward. . . . This was the beginning of the wheat harvest. Then did confusion appear in almost every face, and what made it more so was, it was reported, and was true, that General Burgoyne had many hundreds of Indian natives ; which struck a very great dread on the people in every place, and they prepared to flee as fast as possible, so that within four or five days the people in our quarter were mostly gone, some one way, some another, taking with them all that they could, which yet was but little. They went in haste, some in wagons, others on horseback, and others again on sledges on the bare ground. Other some on trucks or carriages that run on a sort of wheels made with the end of a large log, sawed off and holes made through the middle and put on axle trees—and many more fled away on foot as fast as they could, both men, women and children—all obliged to leave the greater part of their substance as to a living behind them at the mercy of the enemy. Now Burgoyne came down within five or six miles of my house and made a stand, and the army lay within a few miles of us for several months, so that they and the continental army, before the campaign was broken up, destroyed all that was left by the inhabitants, and swept all clean before them. There were about ten or a dozen of Friends’ families and some few others that stayed and stood the storm through, and we all suffered more or less by being plundered by both parties ; for this little remnant of us lived on what warriors call ‘hunting ground’, that is partly between the two armies of General Gates and General

* *Journal of Elias Hicks*, pp. 16-17.

Burgoyne. Although they plundered us they did no great hurt to our persons, some few instances excepted. . . . One day the Indians came to our Meeting just as it was breaking up ; but they offered no violence. Their warlike appearance was very shocking, being equipped with guns, tomahawks and scalping knives. They had a prisoner and one green scalp taken from a person they had killed but a few hours before : but they went away without doing any violence."

The Journal then goes on with a description of the battle which preceded Burgoyne's surrender and some moralizing on the iniquity of war. He continues: "Although Friends suffered much in their estates in this time of trouble, yet they suffered little bodily punishment except some few who were cast into prison upon supposition of being disaffected persons; but they were not detained long."*

The official position of the Society of Friends regarding the war was further enlarged in a document issued by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting after the capture of Philadelphia by Howe, at which time the Continental Congress arrested and carried away over forty leading Quakers and Episcopalians after searching their houses and records for any incriminating information. "We are led"—this official manifesto said—"out of all wars and fightings by the principle of grace and truth in our own minds, by which we are restrained either as private members of society or in any of our meetings from holding a correspondence with either army, but are concerned to spread the testimony of truth and peaceable doctrines of Jesus Christ. . . . We deny in general terms all changes and insurrections which in any degree clash with our profession."† Several of the Friends who were seized at this time were deported to Virginia by orders of General Washington, but after a few months they were allowed to return to their homes. Washington afterwards admitted that he had misjudged the motives of Friends and gave a very generous testimony to

* *Journal of Rufus Hall*, Philadelphia, 1840, pp. 16-18.

† Hirst, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

their value as citizens.* The part which a number of Friends were permitted to play later in the negotiations regarding the surrender of the Western Posts was further evidence of the recognition and respect which their attitude had inspired in partisans on both sides.

Another circumstance which during the war laid Friends under suspicion of disloyalty was the refusal of many to handle Continental money, and the official action of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in refusing to sanction its use. This reluctance, which was chiefly conscientious, was doubtlessly fortified by motives of prudence as well; inasmuch as the violent fluctuations of Continental currency subjected it to a discount of 300, 700 and at last of 1000 to 1.†

But while this attitude of neutrality and nonpartisanship was scrupulously maintained by the Society of Friends in America, including intercourse by official Epistles with the mother Yearly Meeting in London, as well as by private correspondence: there were numerous cases in which Friends or those nominally connected with the Society did become partisans and identify themselves with one side or the other. "Of those who actively supported the war the majority naturally were on the revolutionary side. They were disowned by their Monthly Meetings when in membership—for it must be remembered that many "Quakers" were only called so by the public from their social connection with Friends, or their attendance at religious meetings. Those who joined the British cause were dealt with in the same way, but their numbers were very small. The majority of Friends maintained a

* J. P. Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States of America*, London, 1797, vol. i. "No person has spoken to me more impartially respecting the Quakers than General Washington that celebrated man whose spirit of justice is remarkable in everything. He declared to me, that in the course of the war, he had entertained an ill opinion of the Society; he knew but little of them, as at that time there were but few of that sect in Virginia; and he had attributed to their political sentiments, the effect of their religious principles. He told me that since having known them better, he acquired an esteem for them; that considering the simplicity of their manners, the purity of their morals, their exemplary economy, and their attachment to the Constitution, he considered this Society as one of the best supports of the new government, which requires a great moderation and a total banishment of luxury."

† Trevelyan, *George III. and Charles Fox*, vol. i, p. 301.

quiet opposition not only to all military activity but to all active support of the revolutionary government. This attitude gave rise to the general opinion that Friends were traitors and "Tories" (that is "Loyalists"). Traitors they were not, for they gave no aid to the British. Loyalists the leading Friends in Philadelphia and New York undoubtedly were, though they were scrupulous in their abstention from all complicity with the war. Probably the majority of the New England Friends and of the country Friends elsewhere sympathized with the American cause. But they all united in a conscientious opposition to warlike measures and a refusal to share them.**

Loyalist Migration to Pennfield, New Brunswick

It seems probable that it was from distinctly "Loyalist" Quakers, some of whom may have been among those deported from Philadelphia and vicinity, that the Pennfield settlement in New Brunswick came; and it is for this reason that it is unique in the history of the Society of Friends as the one distinctly Loyalist Quaker settlement in Canada, in a sense in which the later settlements around the Bay of Quinte and in the Niagara District never were "Loyalists".

One of the leading spirits in the New Brunswick settlement was Joshua Knight, who came from Philadelphia, having had his property confiscated by the Whig authorities, and who with other members or those connected with Friends, sought protection in New York. In 1783 application was made by this group for permission to establish a settlement on the River St. John; but for some reason or other the colony was actually planted at Pennfield, or Beaver Harbour, on Passamaquoddy Bay, New Brunswick.† There were one hundred and forty-nine lots included in this original grant; and a contemporary writer estimated the number of inhabitants at eight hundred.

* M. E. Hirst, *The Quakers in Peace and War*, op. cit., p. 389.

† *The Pennfield Records, 1783-1789*. Edited by J. Vroom, vol. iv, *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society*. "A book of records of the transactions and proceedings of the Society of People called Quakers who have agreed to settle themselves on the River St. John in Nova Scotia."

Though this number may have been overestimated, it would in any case include many Loyalist refugees who had no connection with the Society of Friends or at least only a nominal one. For instance, Gideon Vernon of Philadelphia, one of the signers of the original application for the settlement, was captain in a Loyalist corps; while Evan Thomas, another one associated with the enterprise, also had held military rank in a Loyalist corps. The new settlement apparently received prompt assistance from the Government, as an agent in a letter of January 10th, 1784, certified "that 71,000 feet of boards and 141,000 shingles had been delivered to the Quaker refugees settled at Beaver Harbour on Passamaquoddy Bay". In July, 1786, "at a meeting of the Company of Friends in the Township of Pennfield it was agreed to build a house for a place to meet together on the day or days they may please, in order for worship for the said Company, on the ground allotted for the said purpose." The house was to be twenty-five feet long, twenty feet broad and eleven feet high. The allotment from the common land for the purpose of providing a site for a meeting house reveals an organization which was quite beyond the ordinary disciplinary methods of the Society in dealing with such matters. This departure is further evidence that the Pennfield Meeting was not a regularly established Meeting of Friends.

The Pennfield settlement was born in adversity and from the first it evidently had an uphill fight to keep body and soul together. In 1787 Philadelphia Friends came to its aid with "a donation of flour, meal and other necessities", which, according to a contemporary, "will probably save large numbers from starving". Two years later the records show that "at a meeting of Friends at the Meeting House, a committee was appointed to examine the proceedings of the committee who distributed the donations which were received from Friends in England for this place". Evidently the struggles and privations of other Loyalist refugees to Nova Scotia were repeated in the Quaker settlement at Pennfield. Most of the refugees came from the upper classes and, accustomed to the

comforts and refinements of life, were ill adapted to the hard conditions of pioneer existence now imposed upon them. They had culture, courage and boundless faith, but little else in the world. "The town of Beaver Harbour, like other Loyalist towns, had arisen in the expectations of a trade that never came, and yet they had remained and kept up the struggle." They stayed on hoping against hope for better times which many of them never lived to see, though they left a rich spiritual and material heritage for their successors. In 1790 a forest fire swept over a large portion of the township "leaving only one dwelling, that of Elias Wright". "A few of the inhabitants, including the family of Joshua Knight, remained, or came back to rebuild their dwellings at or near the old sites; but Pennfield was no longer a Quaker colony, and the highways and landmarks of to-day bear no relation to the plans of the old town of Belleview."*

Five years after this disaster there is evidence of a number of Friends still residing in this district. Timothy Rogers, visiting St. Johns in 1795 in company with Joshua Evans, says: "We had two very large meetings, and highly favoured." He also records a visit at the home of Joshua Knight, though whether Knight was residing at Dipper Harbour or at Beaver Harbour is not clear. A small meeting was still in existence, but it was not recognized by any Monthly or Yearly Meeting, having been organized by Friends who were evidently not in good standing on account of their pronounced Loyalist sympathies. Timothy Rogers mentions this disciplinary irregularity in the Meeting at Beaver Harbour, which he says "was set up by them without the notice of any Monthly Meeting". Joshua Evans also implies that a considerable number had at one time been Friends, but were no longer directly connected with the Society. "Many people here away"—he says—"had an education amongst Friends and are friendly but appear as sheep without a shepherd." If the American Yearly Meetings of Friends could have established a more vital connection with the scattered groups

* J. Vroom, *op. cit.*

throughout the Maritime Provinces, beyond the occasional visits of itinerant ministers who, like Joshua Evans, found them "as sheep without a shepherd", they might have retained their Quaker traditions and identity down to the present day. In losing this they were lost in the common life of the community, but not perhaps without making some contribution to the common good.

The Loyalist Migration to Upper Canada

The prevailing tradition which has associated the first Quaker settlements in Upper Canada with the Loyalist migration after the American War of Independence has probably arisen because of the loose use of the terms "Loyalist" and "Quaker" which, as has already been explained in the case of the Pennfield or Beaver Harbour colony, involved a fundamental contradiction. This confusion may also have arisen because, as I hope to show, the Quaker migration, while not strictly speaking a Loyalist movement, nevertheless merged into a migration of Loyalist relatives, friends and neighbours from the older American settlements to Upper Canada.

The earliest phase of the movement may be illustrated by several families from among that first band of pioneers who laid the foundations of Upper Canada. For example, when the Revolutionary War broke out, Joseph Allen was a Quaker mill owner at Monmouth, New Jersey. Contrary, however, to the principles of Friends who discountenanced all support of the War, he accepted a contract for the supplying of flour and provisions to the British Army. This was, of course, sufficient to bring disciplinary measures and his ultimate "disownment" as a member of the Society of Friends. When his mill was afterwards looted by American partisans, he joined the British forces and was given a captain's commission. Captain Allen was second in command under Captain Van Alstine, who in 1783 sailed from New York to Quebec with a party of Loyalist refugees.* After spending a

* *Lennox and Addington Historical Society, Papers and Records, 1911, vol. iii, p. 55,*

hard winter under canvas at Sorel in the Lower Province this heroic group finally settled on about 11,459 acres in the Fourth Township (or, Adolphustown) on the Bay of Quinte.*

In this same company with Captain Allen was Captain Thomas Dorland and his elder brother Philip. The Dorland family was an old Dutch family of Quaker stock from Dutchess County, New York. But Thomas having actively identified himself with the Royalist cause, had been disowned from membership in the Society. He thereupon became a member of the Episcopal Church, which was decidedly Royalist, and accepted a captain's commission in the army. He was an officer in the Canadian militia till the end of his life, and was in active service during the war with the United States during 1812 and 1814. Philip Dorland though also a "Loyalist"—but in a narrower sense of the term—had not been a "Royalist" (*i.e.*, active partisan), but like his more aggressive brother he had suffered abuse and confiscation of his property because of the offence which his neutral attitude had given to the local authorities. Thomas, therefore, became a Royalist refugee because he fought—Philip, because he would not fight. Nevertheless, they both came to Upper Canada at the same time and to the same place in 1784. The Barkers, the Niles, and other Quaker families were in precisely the same position.†

The Quakers who came to Adolphustown, as far as available records indicate, were all members in good standing in the Society of Friends and since most of their leading members came from New York State they were under the authority of New York Yearly Meeting. Therefore, when in 1798 a Preparative Meeting was first established in the house of Philip Dorland in Adolphustown, there is nothing to indicate that there had been any irregularity in the previous standing of its

* Canniff, *The Settlement of Upper Canada*, p. 448.

† "The Quakers desired to remain neutral but the Revolutionists appeared resolved that there should be no neutrals. The Barkers, the Niles, some of the Dorlands and many others of their belief, took no hand in the war, but in the end their property was confiscated and they were driven from the country because they too did not rebel."—Casey, *The Earliest Quakers of the Bay of Quinte*.

members, which would not have been the case if they had been "Loyalists".

As in the case of the Adolphustown settlement, the earliest Quaker migration to the Niagara District followed or merged into a migration of Loyalist relatives, friends and neighbours who, coming principally from New Jersey and Pennsylvania, were under the authority of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. Most of those who came overland to the Niagara District appear to have followed a pretty well defined route. Those from New Jersey and Pennsylvania usually went by way of Reading, thence across the Susquehanna River at Northumberland. From here they struck out in a north-westerly direction, through the great Genesee Tract, eventually finding their way to Buffalo Creek and Fort Erie, whence a ferry conveyed them to Canadian territory at Black Rock. The first Friends are credited with coming to the Niagara District as early as 1783. By 1792 quite a number of families had settled at Black Creek in Bertie Township and at Short Hills in Pelham. As we have already noted in the instance of the Adolphustown Preparative Meeting, there is no evidence to show that the members of the first Preparative and Monthly Meetings at Pelham were other than in good standing in the Meetings from which they had originally come, which could not have been the case if they had been active partisans on either side during the late revolution.

The Loyalist tradition has possibly emphasized the abstract love of British institutions at the expense of the concrete gains which those who migrated to Canada anticipated in order to offset disadvantageous conditions in their old home communities. The opening up of new lands in Upper Canada which they might possess, was an irresistible challenge to the pioneer instincts of those who were restless in the older communities, and who eagerly embraced the opportunity of bettering their condition under a more congenial form of government. It should not be forgotten, however, that while many elected to take up new lands in Upper Canada under British institutions, others obeyed the same restless pioneer

spirit and sought greater freedom than they enjoyed in the older communities and an opportunity to better their worldly prospects, by migrating in far larger numbers into the American middle west. In fact as I wish to show presently, the migration of Friends to Upper Canada was simply the fringe of this great westward movement of which those who came to this Province constituted the merest fragment.

Evidence of the fact that Friends in the old American colonies were alive to the advantages of migration to Upper Canada may be found in 1790, when Lord Dorchester, the Governor, was approached by a Pennsylvania Friend, David England, who was anxious to secure a whole township for a Quaker settlement in Upper Canada. In a petition to Dorchester, David England purported to be speaking on behalf of the Quakers of Redstone and vicinity in Pennsylvania. His application for this special favour on their behalf was made because of their "zeal for his Majesty and the remembrance of their former happy state under the mildest and best of governments". He modestly requested, therefore, that "a township (be) laid out for them in any good part of the District, in order of better supporting as well as regulating their own interior police (policy) peculiar to the sect". Unfortunately for the success of his ambitious plan David England had not—as he was assuming in his petition to Dorchester—the authority of the Friends in his district, or at least of Westland Monthly Meeting of which he was a member, to make any such proposal. Accordingly, "a weighty committee" of Friends felt it necessary to draw up a formal letter to Dorchester in which they informed him that David England's action was quite unauthorized. Not only did the committee repudiate David England's proposal, but later it decided to discipline him as "a disorderly person", which resulted eventually in his "disownment" from the Society.* It is likely that David

* For David England's petition and correspondence related thereto see, "A Proposed Friend's Settlement in Canada," from the records of Westland Monthly Meeting. See also another project for a Friends' Settlement in Canada, 1796, also in *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society*, Philadelphia, No. 3, vol. viii, 1918, pp. 100-106.

England was disowned, not only because he had violated the proper official procedure, but also because he was a partisan of the British cause and hence a "Loyalist". There also is evidence on other occasions—and perhaps in this particular instance as well—of an attempt on the part of the older and more conservative members to prevent their young men from joining in the mad rush into these newly opened districts, which in some instances so depleted the older meetings as to cause their extinction.

Simcoe, Governor of Upper Canada, evidently thought the Quakers desirable colonists, and with a watchful eye to the welfare of his beloved province, was anxious to divert as many as possible into Upper Canada. He discovered, however, as no doubt Dorchester had done also in the case of the Redstone Quakers, that they were a conservative, punctilious folk who were inclined to caution lest they should in any way depart from the good order of their Society or from that strict, political neutrality which they had always sought to maintain.* Simcoe sought to convince them that they would enjoy the full benefit and protection of the recently established government of Upper Canada, especially "exemption from militia duties which they have always met with under the British government".† The suggestion was even made—and this probably had Simcoe's approval if it did not actually come from him—that the Quakers might be granted the special favour of being exempted from taxation and from the taking of oaths as an inducement to settle in Upper Canada. This, however, was rejected by Dundas as unfair to the other colonists and impracticable, though he paid a very warm

* E. A. Cruikshank, *Simcoe Papers*, published by Ontario Historical Society, Toronto, 1923, vol. i, p. 142. Simcoe to Dundas, April 28th, 1792. "From some intimations I have received relative to the wishes of a large body of Quakers to emigrate from Pennsylvania I propose sending a proper person to hold that intercourse with them which they are too wary to commit to writing."

† *Ibid.*, Simcoe to Dundas, 1792, vol. i, p. 199. "There is every prospect of very great emigrations taking place out of the United States into His Majesty's Dominions, and I have not hesitated to promise to the Quakers and other sects the similar exemption from militia duties which they have always met with under the British government."

tribute to the desirability of the Quakers as pioneers in a new colony.*

Though certain special inducements were promised to Quakers, and many came to Upper Canada by choice as well as necessity, those who came were not Loyalists and should not be confused with the Loyalist migrations to Canada into which to a large extent they were merged. The proper background of the Quaker migration to Canada will be found, therefore, not so much in the political aspects of the American Revolution as in that great Westward Movement of Quakerism known as "The Great Migration", which stirred the whole Society of Friends in America from New England to South Carolina, and which by 1820 had brought more than twenty thousand Friends into the Great Plains beyond the Alleghanies and established in the Middle West one of the most populous centres of Quakerism in the world.

The Great Migration

"In 1799 Joseph Dew (a minister from North Carolina) having returned from a visit of exploration in the Ohio section of the Northwest Territory, solemnly uttered this prophecy to the Quaker group gathered around him 'I see the seed of God sown in abundance, extending far northward!' The entire Meeting listening to the inspired words of Joseph Dew was powerfully moved, and all Friends in that region were tendered in spirit and convinced that it was right to emigrate in a body to Ohio. . . . Something like what happened here in North Carolina, happened up and down the entire Atlantic Coast from Georgia to Long Island, and in a less degree also in New York and New England. Whole meetings in many instances moved westward in a body, while in other meetings, many families left their old homes and associations and pushed out to find new homes and a new career in the wilderness of the Northwest. In numbers this migration far

* *Ibid*, vol. iii, pp. 82-83, Dundas to Simcoe. "Every reasonable degree of encouragement should be given to the Quakers as they are perhaps of all others, the most useful to an infant colony, but to exempt them from any taxes would be impolitic if not impracticable and would sooner or later occasion discontent in His Majesty's other subjects." Dundas then goes on to give reasons why Quakers should not be exempted from taking the oath prescribed by the recent Legislature of Upper Canada.

exceeded the migration of Friends from Great Britain to the American colonies in the 17th Century, at the beginning of which one of the leaders of that movement also had a vision of great things to be and heard 'an irresistible word saying, the seed in America shall be as the sands of the sea'."*

One of the primary reasons for this migratory movement, especially from the Southern States, was "the desire of Friends to move away from the environment of slavery and to get entirely free from its depressing influences". The awakening of Friends in America to the evils of slavery had been a matter of education and slow growth. But by the close of the eighteenth century, due to the influence of leaders like John Woolman, William Reckitt, Benjamin Ferris, Norris Jones, and many others, Friends were becoming thoroughly alive to the moral obloquy of the system from which they wished to escape.†

The passing of the Ordinance of 1787, which organized the Northwest as a free territory and forever barred the existence of slavery therein, opened up for Friends an almost "divinely prepared Canaan" and was a powerful incentive for emigration to this territory. A few years later the Treaty of Greenville (1795) which ceded to the United States the lands in the Northwest and brought to an end the disastrous Indian wars, also gave an impetus to westward emigration.‡

"With the opening of the century the flood of pilgrims was well under way, moving for the first ten or twelve years toward the main objective terminus in Ohio. The drain upon the southern regions was very serious and in many cases brought feebleness and even death to many meetings which had had a famous history and a remarkable influence. But what was loss to the old regions was gain to the new, and as a whole there could be no doubt that the migration brought increase of life and real expansion, though it involved

* Rufus M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism*, vol. i. pp. 377-378. Also Rufus M. Jones, *Quakerism in the American Colonies*, p. 51.

† For accounts showing the growth of the anti-slavery sentiment among Friends in America see R. M. Jones, *The Quakers in America*, pp. 321-327; or for a fuller account, Stephen Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, Baltimore, 1896, chap. ix.

‡ Charles Coffin, *Indiana Yearly Meeting*, *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia*, No. 1, vol. ii.

considerable tragedy for those who were left behind to nurse the dwindling meetings and to keep the fire burning on the desolate hearths".*

In 1813 the first Yearly Meeting to be organized west of the Alleghany Mountains was established at Short Creek, Ohio, and was officially known as "Ohio Yearly Meeting for the State of Ohio, Indiana territory and the adjacent parts of Pennsylvania and Ohio". "By the year 1820 there were probably not less than twenty thousand Friends west of the Alleghany Mountains, and the number went on growing rapidly for still many more years. They had come from every part of the existing Quaker world. The south had furnished by far the largest portion of the western membership, but Pennsylvania and New Jersey (Philadelphia Yearly Meeting) had made a large contribution to these Meetings. We should perhaps be not far from the truth if we put one-quarter of the whole number, *i.e.* five thousand, to the account of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting."† By 1821 the increase of Friends in this western territory made necessary the organization of Indiana Yearly Meeting, which was established by authority of Ohio, the first pioneer Yearly Meeting of the West. In the course of time, four Yearly Meetings were set off from Indiana, which eventually became the largest Yearly Meeting of Friends in America, having at present an aggregate membership of about forty thousand.‡

The Westward Movement to Upper Canada

Many Quaker families, therefore, that came to Upper Canada during this period had friends and relatives who instead of coming into Canada had followed the main tide of emigration into Western New York, Michigan Territory, and Ohio. In this way the fringe of the great westward Quaker Movement extended up into Canada, and was largely responsible for those of the Society of Friends who came to Upper

* Rufus M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism*, vol. i, p. 410.

† *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 413.

‡ See Harlow Lindley, *A Century of Indiana Yearly Meeting*, *Bulletin Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia*, No. 1, vol. xii.

Canada between 1790 and 1820. An interesting example of the common origin of this movement might be cited in the case of Hamburg Preparative Meeting in Western New York State.* This little Preparative Meeting across the American border was incorporated in 1810 as a part of Pelham Monthly Meeting. This connection was severed in 1814 during the period of "Non-intercourse"; but it serves to illustrate the close connection in origin between those who migrated into Upper Canada and those who remained in Western New York or pushed on into the Middle West. It was all a part of the same Westward Movement.

Our conclusion is, therefore, that while preference for British institutions, especially during the years immediately after the revolution, was a consideration of which the government of Upper Canada made the most, it was in the main a superficial reason for the Quaker migration to Upper Canada. This migration, as I have tried to show, derived its main impulse from that great Westward Movement which, carrying the frontiers of civilization and of Quakerism clear across the American Continent, resulted in the establishing of nine new Yearly Meetings in the Middle West and on the Pacific Coast. Those Friends who came to Canada constituted the merest trickle from this larger stream, and later on when the tide of emigration from the United States stopped so did the rapid growth of the little Quaker groups in Canada. It is an incontestable fact that with the decline of emigration from the United States and the passing of the traditions of pioneer life,

* Hamburg Preparative Meeting originated in a meeting for worship first held in the house of Obadiah Baker in the District of Erie, not far from Buffalo, in 1807. In 1810 it became a regular Preparative Meeting under the care of Pelham Monthly Meeting, which had been established in 1799 by the authority of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. During the period of "Non-intercourse" (1812-14) Hamburg Preparative Meeting was so isolated from its superior meeting in Upper Canada that it was adopted by Farmington Monthly Meeting in 1814, which had been established under the jurisdiction of New York Yearly Meeting. Farmington was composed of members who had emigrated from New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland, and its limits extended from the outlet of Cayuga Lake west to the Niagara River, and from Lake Ontario on the north to the northern part of Pennsylvania. See *MS. Catalogue of Records of New York and Genesee Yearly Meetings*, John Cox, Junior, New York; also S. P. Gardiner, *Memoirs*, pp. 297-299.

the Society of Friends in Canada also passed the zenith of its numbers and strength.

The reasons which in turn lay back of the great migration just mentioned above, are complex and difficult to analyze. Of course there was slavery, but as it has already been shown, this had a special bearing on the southern rather than on the northern states from which the majority of Quakers in Canada came. It is clear, however, that the period immediately following the revolution was one of great economic instability and intense restlessness. Taxes were high, especially on land, both occupied and unoccupied, in the older districts, hard money was scarce so that barter and credit were extensively used. Nevertheless, the extension of the credit system was itself an expression of that boundless faith in the future which was so characteristic of the pioneer days. When conditions of life were too difficult or creditors too pressing, it was always possible to move into a new district and to begin afresh. There was also always "the lure of the new and untried, the desire to work out their fortunes under new stars, the hope that a change of locality would bring into operation forces and powers for which they sought in vain in their habitual surroundings". All these forces were at work among the Society of Friends in the older settled districts; so that along with the desire of bettering their personal prospects was often coupled that of extending the frontiers of Quakerism as well. No one can read the journals and records of this period without becoming aware of the prevailing restlessness and the intermingling of motives both personal and altruistic which led many a Quaker pioneer to take his wife and children, and his few personal possessions, and to launch into the great unknown western country. Joshua Evans who in 1797 visited many of the frontier settlements in Western Pennsylvania, was evidently afraid lest personal motives and the hope of gain dominated all else; though as Rufus Jones has pointed out: "Joshua Evans was a hyper conscientious person and haunted by the impression that the world was desperately prone to evil."*

* Rufus M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism*, vol. i, p. 386.

"It seems to me" (Joshua Evans writes) "they have in too general a way come over the western mountains to settle for the sake of this world's treasure. Many of them appear to have obtained this, and are eagerly pursuing after more. Their minds are so overcharged with cares of this kind that the better part hath been wounded, both in parents and children. A great part of their conversation is about more land, new countries and the things of this world. I laboured to turn their minds to a consideration of their latter end." Of another meeting he says : "There seem to be a few faithful ; too many are like those who worship the works of their own hands, and bow down to what their own fingers have made."*

The *Journal* of Timothy Rogers—who after various business vicissitudes and wanderings in the United States finally came to Upper Canada in 1801, and established the Quaker settlement at Yonge Street—reveals much that is typical of the circumstances which turned the steps of many a Quaker pioneer towards Upper Canada. Timothy Rogers was born in Connecticut in 1756, but after going to work for an uncle in Nine Partners, New York, he eventually moved north to Danby, Vermont, in 1776. A year after this, having a wife and young family, he sold his farm and, in order to better his prospects, bought another farm near Saratoga. But as the purchaser of the Danby property could not meet his payments, Timothy Rogers soon came back with his family to Danby. After living here for two years he was still unsettled, having as he says "a turn of mind that caused me to think of going into some country where I could get land cheaper". In 1782, therefore, he went seventy-one miles north from Danby near the east side of Lake Champlain to the Township of Ferrisburgh "about forty miles beyond where there were any inhabitants". A few other Friends came in after him, and presently a little Meeting grew up. About this time, however, he became deeply involved in extensive land purchases, both on his own account and as an agent for other speculators, besides having a partnership in a

* Joshua Evans' *Journal, Friends' Miscellany*, vol. x, pp. 183-184.

large mill. The care of all these affairs, he admits in his Journal with many groanings of spirit, absorbed too much of his time and energy for the good of his spiritual development, as well as for the interests of the Society of Friends. He passed through many business vicissitudes. "It being"—he says—"a turn of times (1788) that made cash scarce and wild land much taxed, it made it hard for me as also for my partners." Presently he arranged his business affairs so that he was free to devote more of his energies to the building up of his local meeting at Ferrisburgh, and also to undertake some extended religious visits, including the journey to Canada and Nova Scotia with Joshua Evans, as above mentioned. But all these activities did not satisfy his restless, pioneer spirit. Vergennes, Vermont, near which he had settled in 1782, had now become a thriving town, and the lure of the great west was still calling him. In 1797 he placed before his Monthly Meeting "a desire to go westward to look for some new settlements". But he met with no encouragement from the overseers of the meeting so he dropped the project for the time. Two years afterwards, following some more financial troubles and certain difficulty in his family about which he is very reticent, it was again laid on his mind to go westward. He has described his labour of spirit in the following impressive words which are rather revealing of the inner life of this practical mystic:

"I was caused to have reflections of my not moving to the westward, and I had many still and humble days and nights, but as I was waiting on the Lord, there was a very pleasant feeling covered my mind, and I gave all up to His Will, thinking I would do anything that He required. And it appeared that if I would make ready and go immediately to the westward, the Lord would make way for me to settle in the wilderness, where no other were settled and that both me and my children might settle there, and that the place should soon settle, and that it should open a door for a Meeting of Friends in that place. I gave up to do as the Lord, by His Spirit, now revived in my mind, for it was agreeable to a prospect that I had in years past."

In spite of further difficulties, Timothy Rogers followed what he believed to be the Divine leading and first came to Canada in 1801. He lived to see a door of opportunity opened for Friends at Yonge Street, which became one of the strongest centres of Quakerism in Canada, and also at Pickering, to which he finally moved, giving the property on which was built the Meeting House where was held in 1867 the first annual gathering of Canada Yearly Meeting of Friends.

CHAPTER IV

FIRST SETTLEMENTS IN THE NIAGARA DISTRICT AND IN WESTERN UPPER CANADA

*The Beginning of Pelham, Norwich, Yarmouth, Malahide, and
the Meetings Comprising Pelham Quarter**

MENTION has already been made of the fact that Friends in Upper Canada came to the Bay of Quinte and to the Niagara District about the same time. But in the latter locality Quakerism took root more quickly, so that before the close of the eighteenth century there was organized in Pelham the first Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends in Canada.

Among the earliest Quaker pioneers in the Niagara District were Charles Willson and Asa Schooley, whose hospitable homes were places of rest and refreshment for many a weary traveller on first crossing into Canadian territory. A valuable clue to the families of Friends in this locality by 1793 is given in the journal of Joseph Moore, a well-known minister from New Jersey, who in company with other five Friends came to Niagara in this year as official representatives from the Society of Friends to the Indians of the Northwest, and also to offer their good services in drawing up the proposed Treaty of Sandusky between the Indians and the governments of the United States and of Great Britain.†

It might be noted in passing that these Friends were most kindly received by Governor Simcoe, who not only invited them to dine with him at Navy Hall, but called around at their lodgings to talk over with them the Indian

* See Map inside front cover.

† *Journal of Joseph Moore, Friends' Miscellany*, vol. vi, p. 289.

situation. Speaking of their visit to the Governor at Navy Hall, Joseph Moore says: "He appeared a plain man and remarkably easy of access. . . . The Governor when we were walking in his garden said our coming forward at this time, did our Society great honour." William Savery, one of Joseph Moore's associates, adds that "the Governor offered his house at this place for our accommodation, but its low situation occasioned us to decline accepting it". He also speaks of the unhealthy condition in the barracks, "with three or four hundred men, many of them very sickly, and a number die almost daily". Niagara, he describes, as a "town of about fifty houses . . . laid out in half acre lots".* While Joseph Moore and his associates were waiting for the arrival of the American commissioners, and during a long delay before the proposed conference with the Indians, they visited Friends in their vicinity to the number of about twenty-five or thirty families in the neighbourhood of Black Creek and Pelham.†

Jacob Lindley, another of the associates of Joseph Moore, on this mission to Canada, likewise relates his impressions of Governor Simcoe whom he describes as "a plain man and much beloved in the Government". He also gives a vivid picture of the privations of some of the pioneers in the Niagara District following "the scarce year", (1788), which reminds us at what price the comforts we enjoy to-day have been purchased:

"They were so reduced—he says—by scarcity of bread and provisions of all kinds that they came to an allowance of one spoonful of meal per day for one person, eat strawberry leaves, birch leaves, flaxseed dried and ground in a coffee mill—caught the blood of little pigs—bled the almost

* Jonathan Evans, *Journal of William Savery*, London, 1844, p. 17.

† The following names are mentioned in Joseph Moore's *Journal* as among those whom he visited at this time: Asa Schooley, Charles Willson, William Lundy, Benjamin Paulin, John Taylor, Thomas Rice, Joshua Gillam, Joseph Havens, Obadiah Dennis, Abraham Webster, John Cutler, John Hill, Benjamin Hill, Jeremiah Moore, Abraham Laing, Benjamin Canby, Joseph Marsh, Adam Burwell, Daniel Pound, James Crawford, Enoch Scrigley, Samuel Taylor, Ezekiel Dennis, and several others.

famished cow and oxen—walked twelve miles for one shive of bread, paid twelve shillings for twelve pounds of meal. One of the lads who was hired out, carried his little sister two miles on his back to let her eat his breakfast, and they gave him none till dinner. The children leaped for joy at one robin being caught, out of which a whole pot of broth was made. They eat mustard, potato tops, swamp root, and made tea of hops.”*

In spite of these many initial difficulties a little group of Quaker families gradually established themselves in the district. About 1793 the first sawmill in Effingham was built by Samuel Beckett, who also operated a grist mill which he had previously purchased from David Secord. Beckett’s Mills was for a long time a centre of Quaker influence, and the old Beckett homestead still occupies the original site, having the unusual distinction of domiciling six generations of that family in unbroken descent.†

By 1797 the little settlement of Friends in the Niagara District felt strong enough to organize a Monthly Meeting having disciplinary powers with respect to marriages, membership, property and matters of personal conduct. This, of course, could not be accomplished without the authority of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting under whose jurisdiction most of the Friends in this district had been before removing to Canada. In 1797 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting appointed a committee to visit Friends in this locality to see just what the situation was and to report their opinion to the Yearly Meeting. Among those appointed for this service was Jacob Lindley, who in his journal has recorded some of his impressions of this journey to Upper Canada.‡ As one follows this faithful Friend and his comrades on their long,

* Jacob Lindley, *Account of a Journey to attend the Indian Treaty*, Friends’ Miscellany, vol. ii.

† Fred L. Ryon, *Friends in the Niagara Peninsula*, MS. unpublished. “One of this family, Stephen Beckett, was a surveyor and made the first survey of the Welland Canal for Mr. Merritt.”—*Ibid.*

‡ *Journal of Jacob Lindley, Account of His Religious Visit to the Friends in Canada and to the Indians on Buffalo Creek, 1797*, Buffalo Historical Society, vol. vi, p. 169.

toilsome journey on horseback over the rocky passes of the Alleghany Mountains, through dark forests, across raging torrents, riding for whole days wet to the skin, and often with little food either for themselves or for their plucky beasts, a doubtful prospect of a night's lodging at the end of the day's journey, and frequently no shelter at all, one can realize the satisfaction that he experienced when, as he tells us, after being ferried across the Niagara River, he at last "came to Asa Schooley's in Canada".

There now followed a round of visits and meetings among the members of the Society in the district. One day an "appointed meeting" was held at Asa Schooley's which our friend, Jacob Lindley, records, "he attended to a good degree of satisfaction". Inasmuch as Friends were not given to superlatives we may take it that he was more than ordinarily pleased and elevated by this occasion. Another meeting, he tells us, was held by the Yearly Meeting Committee at John Hill's, another at John Taylor's, with many personal visits in between which altogether seem to have impressed him favourably, for on taking leave of the Short Hills settlement (Pelham) he observes "that here appears some hope of a Meeting being opened". Among his numerous visits Jacob Lindley found opportunity to see the Great Falls, and noted that since his last visit here four years ago "the waters on the British side have visibly altered their position". Finally, he retraced his steps to the home of his first host in Canada, and on the following day he says "took leave of our kind friend, Asa Schooley, and family. His son-in-law and John Cutler, Junior, accompanied us to the Niagara Ferry, where we parted with them in mutual tenderness of spirit."*

* The following are some of the names of Friends in the Niagara District which are mentioned in Jacob Lindley's *Journal*, 1797 : Joseph and Ann Marsh, Daniel and Patience Pound, John and Mary Herrit, John Cutler, Adam and Sarah Burrell (Burwell), Joseph and Ann Stevens, Abraham Webster, Joseph Haven, Obadiah Dennis, William Lundy, Jeremy Moore, John Moore, Thomas Mercer, John Taylor, John Hill, Benjamin Hill.

From the general tenor of Jacob Lindley's account we might anticipate a favourable report by the Committee. Acting on its advice, therefore, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting decided to send another committee to this district with powers to establish a Monthly Meeting with disciplinary powers, if the new committee should still deem it advisable. In the summer of 1799 the new committee undertook this commission. After visiting among Friends and holding a conference—which one of the committee described as “a very solid opportunity”*—it was finally agreed to authorize the organization of a meeting for discipline with the powers of a Monthly Meeting, to consist of the two groups of Friends at Short Hills (Pelham Township) and at Black Creek (Bertie Township). Accordingly, on the first of Tenth Month, 1799, Pelham and Black Creek were formally opened as Preparative Meetings, with a membership of forty-three and thirty-six respectively; while on the following day Pelham Monthly Meeting was established as the superior disciplinary meeting, with a total membership of seventy-nine.

The newly acquired status of Pelham Monthly Meeting at this time was rather exceptional, inasmuch as it was not—as was usually the case—a part of a superior Quarterly or Half Yearly Meeting, but reported directly to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. This status was maintained until 1810, when the growth of the Monthly Meeting at Yonge Street and Adolphustown made it advisable to unite these three Monthly Meetings under Canada Half Yearly Meeting which possessed the disciplinary powers of a Quarterly Meeting.†

Several members of the Yearly Meeting Committee were, of course, present at the opening of the new Monthly Meeting to assist by their presence and ministry. Philadelphia Yearly

* See, *Journal of William Blakey*, Friends' Miscellany, vol. iv, p. 139. The other members of the committee were: Joshua Sharpless, Isaac Coats, James Cooper, Nathan A. Smith, Jacob Paxon, Thomas Stewardson.

† See, *MS. Catalogue of Records of New York and Genesee Yearly Meetings*, John Cox, Jr., New York.

Meeting also sent to Friends in Canada at this time "a box of books" which was doubtlessly conveyed here with a good deal of expense and labour. This gift represented the first considerable collection of Quaker literature in Canada; and in a day when books were rare and costly, they were probably much appreciated.*

At the time of the organization of Pelham Monthly Meeting there was already a meeting house which had been in use for perhaps fifteen years. It was a characteristically primitive building made "of flattened logs" and so small that it was becoming rather inadequate. This at least was the impression of John Hunt, who, visiting Pelham in 1800, thought the meeting house "small and crowded", adding the information that the meeting "was a time of openness to labour for the improvement in relation to some customs prevailing among them.† Unfortunately, John Hunt is reticent as to what these prevailing customs were to which he objected, precisely at the point where we would like to know what was in his mind. It is altogether likely that one custom was the use of intoxicating liquor which was common in these days, even among Friends, at weddings, funerals, barn raisings and husking bees; though this custom was coming to be a matter of concern to many Friends, and was evidence of the growth of temperance sentiment in the Society. The inadequacy of the old log meeting house suggested the construction of a new frame building as more suitable to the larger needs of the newly organized Monthly Meeting. This structure was finished in 1807 and was forty-four feet long, twenty-six feet wide and eleven feet high. There were four windows and two doors, the one entrance for the men's side of the house, the other for the women's side; since the men and women at this

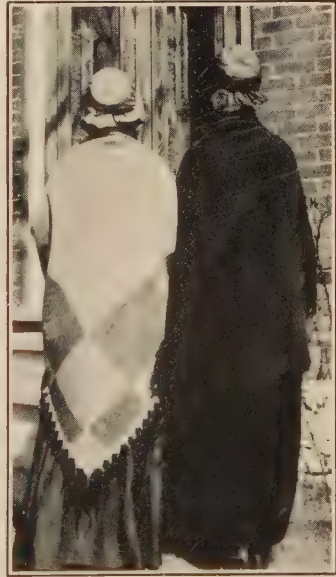
* Pelham Monthly Meeting obtained as its share of this gift : "Ten epistles, three large bibles, three small bibles, six testaments, five of Benjamin Holme's Works, eighteen Spalding's Works, twelve spelling books, one volume Phipps' Works, six of Mary Brooks, eight Elizabeth Webbs, two dozen primers, one Barclay catechism, two blanks (*i.e.* blank books for minutes) for Pelham and one for Black Creek."

† John Hunt's *Journal*, Friends' Miscellany, vol. x.



An Old-time Friends' Meeting

From F. G. Cartland, *Southern Heroes, The Friends in War Time*



A Friendly Call

time sat on opposite sides of the meeting house*, which was usually divided by means of a wooden partition that might be pushed up, or slid to one side during joint sessions of business or worship. Plain wooden benches which made no concessions to human comfort provided seating accommodation. At the front of the room (facing the meeting) were similar benches on which the ministers and elders sat. The inside of the building was finished with matched boards, at first, I fancy, without paint or varnish, but revealing the smooth grain of the white pine which was so plentiful in those days. It was in short the usual type of Quaker Meeting House without ornamentation or architectural pretensions of any kind. The severe simplicity of their places of worship was an expression of the Quaker protest against so-called "consecrated buildings", and of their mystical belief that God could speak to the human soul at all times and in all places, that He found His home in the human soul and did not need a house made by men's hands in which to dwell. To this little wooden meeting house once in the middle of the week and once on First Day, would Friends foregather. The men in their brown homespun coats and wide-brimmed hats, the women in their "plain bonnets" and shawls; some walking, others riding by bridle paths through the forest or over rough corduroy roads; but all with the common purpose that in this humble building they might worship together and that in the Silence they might listen to the Divine promptings within their own souls, or perhaps hear His voice in the spoken Word as the Spirit might lead them.

* The practise of the men sitting on one side of the meeting house and the women on the other was not peculiar to the Quakers alone, as some have believed, but was the usual custom at this early period. See, *Diary of Rev. William Proudfoot*, 1833. *The Proudfoot Papers*, Transactions of London and Middlesex Historical Society, October 21, 1901, Part XI, p. 35. "When I went into the meeting house there were present, I suppose, from 150 to 160 persons, the males on one side of the church and the females on the other, as is usual in all churches I have seen in country places in the Province."

The organization of separate meetings for business and discipline for the men and for the women was not attempted at first by Pelham Monthly Meeting, owing to the fewness of its members. The first meetings were, therefore, held in "joint session," i.e., the men and women together.

Where no meeting house was available Friends would gather at some private house for worship, and in the faithfulness of these little groups we may trace the nucleus of several established meetings. In 1807 a meeting for worship was held in the District of Erie near Buffalo; while not far distant, another little group of Friends met at the house of Obadiah Baker. These two meetings formed the nucleus of Willink, or Hamburg Preparative Meeting which till 1814—though situated on the American side of the Niagara River—was a part of Pelham Monthly Meeting in Canada.* By 1816 Friends had pushed northwest from the Niagara District toward the head of Lake Ontario, and we learn of an indulged meeting at Ancaster (near Hamilton) in the house of Levi Willson. Though continued for many years this little group never became a regularly organized Preparative Meeting.

Norwich

Meanwhile, other Friends had been pushing still further west into Norwich Township, where presently there grew up one of the most populous settlements of Quakers in Upper Canada. The first Quaker pioneers in this district arrived in 1808, most of them apparently coming from Dutchess County, New York. The earliest families in Norwich of which we have any record were: the Lossings (Peter Lossing is usually credited with being the first), the Moores, Curtises, Stovers, and Lancasters. In 1812 a request came from Friends in Norwich to hold a meeting for worship at the house of Joseph Lancaster. Pelham Monthly Meeting granted this request, and later (1816) gave the necessary authorization for a regular Preparative Meeting to be established. In this same year the meeting house property was purchased, and in the following year a meeting house was built—a one story frame building, fifty feet by thirty-six feet, estimated to cost about One Thousand Dollars. By 1819 so rapid had been the growth in Norwich Preparative Meeting that it was “set off”

* See footnote, page 58, for account of Hamburg Preparative Meeting.

by Canada Half Year's Meeting from Pelham as a separate Monthly Meeting.* At this time Norwich Monthly Meeting consisted of the original Preparative Meeting of Norwich, and two "indulged" meetings, one at Pine Street (or South Norwich) which became a regular Preparative Meeting in this same year, the other at Ancaster, on the eastern limits of the new Monthly Meeting, which never became a very strong centre. As was customary on such occasions a committee was appointed by the superior meeting (Canada Half Year's Meeting) to see that everything was carried out in a proper way. So far as appears this was accomplished, and accordingly Norwich Monthly Meeting was duly established in Third Month, 1819.

The Norwich community seems to have grown rapidly. Evidence of its flourishing condition is given by Robert Gourlay in his valuable *Statistical Summary* of 1817. The prosperity of Friends in Norwich, Gourlay attributes principally to "the advantages of remaining at peace on their farms during the invasion of the Province", i.e. during the War of 1812-14. . . . "Quakers, Menonists and Tunkers have all this blessed privilege and are allowed to pay money in lieu of military service. They had the further advantage of the high price of produce occasioned by the war which many others could reap no advantage from while their farms lay neglected."† This statement while quite correct and furnishing evidence of the prosperity of the Norwich settlement, carries the implication that the Quakers, because of their pacific principles, enjoyed all the advantages of peace in war time, and suffered no disabilities at all. This question is discussed more fully in the last chapter of this book; but it might be pointed out, since Gourlay does not do so, and no one else appears to have thought it important, that in time of war, Canadian Friends were subject to special disabilities and levies. They had their teams commandeered by the authorities, and they paid large

* *Records of Canada Half Year's Meeting* held at West Lake, third and fourth of Second Month, 1819.

† Robert Gourlay, *Statistical Summary*, vol. i, p. 33.

finer rather than pay the required tax in lieu of military service. To be allowed to remain in occupation of their farms during the war was, as Gourlay points out, a very great advantage; but there were other special conditions in Norwich as in other Quaker settlements at this time, which favoured their rapid growth. They were to an unusual degree an industrious, sober people, most of whom were familiar with the hardships of pioneer life. Many of them were related or had been neighbours before they came to Canada. They lived in compact communities where they could readily help one another in the labour of clearing the land and erecting necessary buildings. These factors would certainly give them a special advantage over the ordinary settler. Apparently the Norwich settlement flourished even during the trying time from 1812 to 1814; and for long afterwards it was regarded as one of the most prosperous communities in this part of Canada West.

Yarmouth

Meanwhile, the beginning of another Quaker community was being laid still further west and south of Norwich, near the shore of Lake Erie in the Township of Yarmouth. The pioneer of this district was a Quaker, Jonathan Doan, who came from near Philadelphia to Canada, in 1813. He was according to his own claim, the first white settler in this district south of Talbot Street. He is said on reaching this locality to have pitched his tent and laid himself down on the very ground which he afterwards gave to the Society as a cemetery, and in which at the last he found his final resting place. The land in this neighbourhood had been granted to the Baby family, for whom Jonathan Doan was acting as land agent at this time.* At the end of two years residence in the new township, Jonathan Doan was so satisfied with the prospects that he went back to Pennsylvania; and on returning to Canada, brought a number of settlers with him, among whom were William Harvey, John Kipp, John Mills and

* Ermatinger, *The Talbot Régime*, p. 227.

Joseph Albertson. Jonathan Doan also built the first flour mill in South Yarmouth, and he likewise operated a tannery. As a result of the influx of Friends into this district there was sent to Norwich Monthly Meeting in 1819 a request for an indulged meeting for worship to be held on the First Day of the week at John Kipp's and on alternate First Days at the home of Elias Moore. The house of the last named Friend has the further distinction of being the place at which was held the first temperance meeting in the Township of Yarmouth. The speaker on this occasion was a Methodist, David Burgess. This incident indicates the beginning of organized temperance work at an early date. In the following year, 1820, the first meeting house in Yarmouth was built. It was a little log building on the corner of Jonathan Doan's farm which had been given by him for the use of the Meeting.* By 1821 the Friends at Yarmouth were sufficiently numerous to warrant the establishing of a regular Preparative Meeting; but because of some delay, due to a slight irregularity in putting the business through the superior meeting, a Preparative Meeting was not formally established in Yarmouth till 1823.†

Malahide

A few Friends were also settled just east of Yarmouth Township on Lake Erie, in the adjoining townships of Malahide and Bayham. In 1822 an indulged meeting was allowed by Norwich Monthly Meeting at the home of George Laur in

* The original deed of this property is dated 8/4/1820, and shows that Jonathan Doan, Sr., sold to John Kipp and William Harvey, trustees of the Society of Friends at Yarmouth, the property described in the deed, "for the sum of five shillings lawful money". It is witnessed by Joseph A. Lancaster and Joseph N. Moore. The burying ground is still kept up by the Friends in this district; though the little log meeting house has long since been resolved into its original elements along with the dust of the donor of the site. A frame meeting house afterwards replaced the original log building, but in 1865 a new site was chosen about two miles distant in a beautiful maple grove just north of Sparta, Yarmouth Township, where a substantial frame meeting house was erected. In 1872 the house was enlarged for the use of Genesee Yearly Meeting. This addition was afterwards removed, which is as the meeting house stands at the present day.

† *Records of Canada Half Yearly Meeting, 3/4/1823.*

Malahide; but it was not recognized as a regular Preparative Meeting until after the Separation of 1828, when the meeting associated itself with the Hicksite branch of the Society of Friends.

The recital of these bare facts mostly gleaned from the old minute books of the period, does not convey very much of the real struggle which many Friends underwent before finally establishing themselves in this district. Something of this background may be conveyed in the experiences of Reuben and Sarah Haight, one of the pioneer families of Yarmouth Township.* Reuben Haight, like many of those who came to this district, originally hailed from Westchester County, New York, coming to Canada in 1817, with his wife Sarah and nine children. He first settled near Otterville in South Norwich, and there acquired one thousand acres of land, a grist mill, and a sawmill, and later a carding mill. With the slump of 1820, however, he was compelled to suspend his business, and though his assets exceeded his liabilities his creditors would not wait, but immediately seized his property and sold it. Nothing daunted, Reuben Haight and his family made a fresh start, removing to a Clergy Reserve lot in Yarmouth Township. A Yarmouth Friend allowed them to occupy a part of a log house while they built a log house for themselves. The new house was situated a mile distant in a particularly dense part of the woods, from which at night on every hand could be heard the cry of wild cats and the howling of wolves. The flooring and window frames for the new house had to be brought from Norwich, a distance of about forty miles through woods that in many places were almost impassable. The initial task of clearing the land was prodigious, and yet two of the younger sons, Samuel and Ephraim, "in one year chopped and cleared twenty-six acres of heavily timbered land, sowed it with wheat and fenced it".

In 1822 one of the older sons who had been working on shares with a neighbour, sold one hundred bushels of wheat

* *Reminiscences of Samuel Haight*, Young Friends' Review, No. 12, vol iii, 1888 ; No. 1, vol. iv, 1889.

for one York shilling per bushel in order to raise enough money to enable him to visit his relatives back in Westchester, New York. On his return to Yarmouth he brought a one-horse wagon and a box of second-hand clothing, a gift from their relatives which was greatly appreciated. The wagon was particularly serviceable, because it enabled Sarah Haight, who was a valued minister of the Society, to go to meeting and to make calls with greater comfort. For even though the conveyance was without springs, some straw or pine branches in the wagon box might serve the purpose, and in any case would be easier than horseback for a woman of advancing years. In 1823, as Reuben Haight's creditors were yet unsatisfied, they seized what little property he still possessed and arrested him; or rather he met them by appointment and voluntarily went with them to the nearest jail, some seventy miles east at Victory, Long Point. The school children of the place, hearing the report that there was "a white-headed Quaker in jail", were so anxious to satisfy their curiosity as to "what kind of a creature it would be", that not without trepidation they approached the cell in which he was confined to secure a peep at this strange sight. To their surprise they discovered only a kindly, elderly man who recited poetry to them and was so amiable that eventually a friendship was struck up with several persons in the neighbourhood which was the means of providing him with many little comforts that otherwise would have been lacking. He was in close confinement only for a short time, as his friends by going bail were able to secure for him the privilege of going "in limits", by which he was allowed a considerable measure of personal freedom within a limited area. It appears that he was especially expert in snaring wild pigeons, with which he kept many in the neighbourhood supplied. For a time he was also allowed the privilege of having the company of his wife.

After about a year Reuben Haight's sons and friends were able to secure his release; so that he went back to his bush farm at Yarmouth to start all over once again. After several long years of struggle which need not be further elaborated,

he was finally clear of debt, and secure in the possession of enough land with which to give his surviving children a good start in life. He lived to the ripe old age of eighty-one years, eleven months, having outlived more than half of his family who had died of consumption in early manhood and womanhood. The rigours of pioneer life had undoubtedly hastened their death. His wife, Sarah Haight, who though the mother of twelve children and an active minister in the Society of Friends, outlived her husband by two years and died in her seventy-ninth year. Difficulties similar in many ways to those narrated above had to be overcome by many another family of pioneers before the countryside of South Yarmouth acquired its present prosperous appearance, with its substantial barns and dwelling houses, its well kept roads, its undulating fields of grain and its pleasant orchards. Thus have we entered into the labours of those who have preceded us. But having attained a large measure of ease and comparative comfort, have we become soft, and lost something of their industry and indomitable spirit?

CHAPTER V

FIRST SETTLEMENTS IN EASTERN UPPER CANADA

*Adolphustown, Kingston, West Lake, Green Point, Wellington,
Cold Creek, Haldimand and Leeds, comprising
West Lake Quarter**

IN speaking of the American background of the Quaker migration to Upper Canada, reference has already been made to the little band of Loyalists and their Quaker relatives and neighbours who, coming to Adolphustown on the Bay of Quinte in 1784, were among the founders of Upper Canada. There is nothing to show just when the first Quaker meeting in Adolphustown was held. But though no organized meeting with disciplinary powers was established till 1798, it is safe to assume that between '84 and '98 the little Quaker community on the Bay was not without regular meetings for worship which would be held at some private house, quite probably at Philip Dorland's, where the first Preparative Meeting was eventually organized. Most of the Friends in this district had come from the State of New York and were, therefore, under the care of New York Yearly Meeting, which was not unmindful of the welfare of these far distant members. From time to time they were visited by ministers from this meeting† and eventually in 1797 a committee from New York

* See Map inside front cover.

† "About 1790 two Quaker preachers of some note visited Canada : they were David Sand and Elijah Hick. By appointment they held services in Adolphustown. It is uncertain whether this was before or after the building of the meeting house." Canniff, *Early Settlement of Upper Canada*, p. 279. No mention of this is made in David Sands' *Journal* (pub. London, 1848). Canniff is quite astray about the date of the meeting house.

"About this time (1795) Garratt Barker and Enoch Dorling (Dorland) came from Great Nine Partners Meeting to make a religious visit to Upper Canada and went on their way to Lake Ontario by Grand Isle."—Timothy Rogers' *Journal*.

Yearly Meeting was appointed to visit Adolphustown in conjunction with a committee from Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, "in order to strengthen and encourage those remote members and renew a brotherly extension of sympathy and care towards them". The committee reported to the Yearly Meeting in 1798 that "circumstances had been such that no visit has been made". It was, therefore, continued.* Later in this same year the committee joined forces with that from Nine Partners, at Schenectady, New York, and together they proceeded by way of Lake Oneida and the Oswego River, to Lake Ontario. A narrative of their subsequent journey to Adolphustown may give us some idea of the dangers to which they were exposed by their unselfish devotion to the interests of the Society:

"On reaching the Lake, they took in two passengers, a man and his wife, and a pilot, although they had an open boat to be propelled by oars, with the occasional use of a blanket for a sail when the wind was fair. They proceeded around the eastern end of the Lake, and going from island to island as the wind and weather permitted, lodging at nights on shore, in the best manner they could, carrying their provisions and cooking it by the way. They were retarded by winds and storms which rendered their voyage slow and hazardous. Besides their female passengers some two or three of the Monthly Meeting committee were women, who were thus exposed and shared the toils and dangers of the voyage. At one time they met with a narrow escape from being foundered. They had their temporary sail hoisted and were moving rapidly before the wind and over a rough sea, when their sail gave way and their pilot became so alarmed that he gave up the helm ; and the boat being left to the mercy of the waves must soon have filled in the trough of the sea if not kept under headway. One of the Friends who was sitting in the bow (who perhaps was better acquainted with the management of the boat than the others) immediately stepped back to the helm and called to the others to get out the oars ; but alarm was so great but few

* Levi Varney, *A Brief Account of Friends in Canada Yearly Meeting*, The Friend, Tenth Month, 1874. T. W. Casey, *First Missionaries and Earliest Quakers of the Bay of Quinte District*. Reprint from *Napanee Beaver* for the Bay of Quinte Historical Society. No date.



Bay of Quinte, from above Stone Mills

The path leads up to the "Lake on the Mountain," while on the peninsula projecting out into the Bay, is Adolphustown.

had the strength to do so, enough, however, to keep the boat under way ; and by steady pulling they were enabled to ride the seas and succeeded in landing in safety. It was a solemn and affecting time, and when the alarm had subsided and they began to feel an assurance of safety, the old man, their passenger, broke the silence by saying : 'I thought we should have all gone to the bottom. I could not have lifted an oar to save my life, and I thought you were all fitter to die than I was.'

"On reaching an island not far from Kingston they were wind-bound three days and nights, and their provisions failing they had to live on a very small allowance. The last morning they baked and eat each their last small cake ; but the wind somewhat abating, although a heavy sea was running, they ventured to set out and succeeded in reaching Kingston before night, from whence they proceeded to the settlement of Friends along the Bay of Quinte.

"They met with a hearty welcome from those whom they went to visit, and were deeply interested in their intercourse with them. They advised and assisted in the establishment of Meetings and visited most of their families ; and having finished their labours among them, again embarked in their frail vessel, and after various trials and detentions were favoured to return to Fort Stanwix in safety."*

As a result of the committee's visit a Preparative Meeting was opened "at the house of Philip Dorland in Adolphustown, Upper Canada, the seventh of Ninth Month, 1798." "After a time of waiting together, wherein several suitable communications were offered and the Divine Presence measurably felt," Philip Dorland was appointed Clerk of the newly organized meeting.† The remoteness of Adolphustown Preparative Meeting from its superior Monthly Meeting (Nine Partners, Dutchess County) induced the committee to recommend that the Meeting should have jurisdiction in matters

* *Commencement of the Society of Friends in Canada*, by "J." See "Friends' Review," No. 25, vol. ii, pp. 385-6, 1849, Philadelphia. The writer is giving from memory these incidents as related to him when a boy by his father.

† Philip Dorland, the first Clerk of the Adolphustown Meeting, had been elected as member to represent Adolphustown and Prince Edward County in the first Parliament of Upper Canada which met at Niagara in September, 1792. As he was a Quaker, he refused to take the oath. Consequently his election was annulled, and Major Peter Van Alstine was elected in his stead.—W. S. Herrington, *History of Lennox and Addington*, Toronto, 1913, pp. 371-372.

not usually granted to Preparative Meetings. Accordingly, it was not only decided to allow the accomplishment of marriages, but the appointment of overseers as well, to deal with offenders and to report to the Monthly Meeting without unnecessary delay "their sense respecting the case". It was also recommended "that the same method be pursued in case of requests to be received into membership". "The subject of appointing some Friends to the weighty office of overseers coming under consideration, John Dorland, Cornelius Blount and Aaron Brewer were appointed to that service." These three men were, therefore, the chosen leaders of the first organized meeting of the Society of Friends in the eastern part of the Province.*

In Tenth Month, 1798, it was proposed to erect a meeting house at Adolphustown. The committee entrusted with this duty reported, "that having taken the matter into consideration, unite in proposing to commence building a house thirty feet by twenty-five feet, with eighteen foot posts". "After solemn consideration" this was agreed upon, and James Noxon, Aaron Brewer and John Dorland were appointed to consider a suitable spot of ground. A site was found on a corner of the farm of John Dorland, on the south shore of Hay Bay, which was also to serve as a burying ground. "James Noxon and John Dorland were appointed to have oversight of the burying ground and to admit such persons to inter their dead there as are willing to conform to the good

* "The Society was first organized in Upper Canada by James Noxon, who lived in Adolphustown." W. S. Herrington, *History of the County of Lennox and Addington*, Toronto, 1913, pp. 150-151. There is nothing in the records, however, to support this statement which though incorrect has been often repeated. Though James Noxon was not the first organizer of the Society, he was without question one of the outstanding members both of the Society and of the community in which he lived. He was one of the first Overseers of the burying ground; Postmaster of Adolphustown, 1797-1798; Clerk of the Township, 1799.

Some of the old Quaker family names which appear on the early Minutes of *Adolphustown Monthly Meeting* are: Barker, Bowerman, Bedel, Ball, Brewer, Bull, Bristol, Brock, Brown, Blount, Christy, Cronkite, Carmen, Case, Casey, Dorland, Dunham, Elsworth, Gerrow, Garratt, Haight, Hubbs, Hutchinson, Hazard, Hart, Hill, Leavens, Mullett, Noxon, Ruttan, Saylor, Stinson, Sweetman, Stevenson, Stickney, Terrill.

order used among Friends." This implied restriction referred to the plain headstones of a more or less uniform shape and height, upon which Friends insisted as being consistent with their simplicity in other matters.* On a corner of the old burying ground stood the meeting house which was probably the third oldest place of public worship in Upper Canada.† In 1868 the meeting house was pulled down and replaced by another building on the same site. After Adolphustown Meeting was laid down in 1871, the meeting house fell into disrepair, and was finally disposed of in 1897.

Meanwhile, in addition to the Friends at Adolphustown, a few members of the Society had gone into the district just north of Kingston near Waterloo, while others had gone across the Bay into various parts of Prince Edward County, principally around Green Point, West Lake and East Lake.‡ By 1800 there were a sufficient number of Friends in Adolphustown and the immediate district to warrant the organization of a Monthly Meeting. In this year, therefore, Nine Partners Quarterly Meeting (N.Y.) appointed a committee "to visit

* "Here the majority of the graves are marked with a plain board, and many of them have only the initials of the deceased, and the rank grass interlocks its spines above the humble mounds. I remember my father having difficulty to get consent to place a plain marble slab at the head of his father's and mother's grave."—Description of Adolphustown burying ground by Canniff Haight, *Country Life in Canada Fifty Years Ago*, Toronto, 1885, pp. 261-262.

† The oldest place of public worship in Upper Canada is alleged to have been the Methodist Chapel which was erected in 1792 about a mile east of the site of the Quaker meeting house on Hay Bay. The first log meeting house of the Society of Friends at Black Creek, Bertie Tp., Niagara, was built before 1792, but I have no definite record of the date of its erection. The Quaker meeting house at Dartmouth was still older, but again I have no record of the year in which it was built.

‡ See, *Journal* of Rufus Hall, pub. Phila. 1840, 8/8/1798. "Went from Queenston to Kingston by packet. 13/8 landed at Kingston and went by foot to Aaron Brewer's and attended an appointed meeting at their house made up of a few Friends and others of various denominations. Next day rode to the Bay of Quinty to the house of John Dorland and day following visited the families of James Noxon and Reuben Beadel. We also made several other religious visits and on the nineteenth, being First Day, had a meeting at Philip Dorland's which I thought was a favoured time. We then crossed the Bay in company with Philip Dorland and James Noxon to West Lake, where we visited the family of Jacob Cronk." pp. 52-53.

Friends in Upper Canada and to open a Monthly Meeting, if in the course of their visit it should seem right". The committee performed this service in First Month, 1801, when six of their number attended and "were united in believing it right that a Monthly Meeting be established at Adolphustown in Upper Canada in the Friends' Meeting House".

Kingston

In 1801 a request was received by the newly organized Monthly Meeting of Adolphustown to allow a Preparative Meeting in Kingston Township. This request was granted, though for a number of years a Monthly Meeting Committee was appointed to have a special oversight of the Meeting. Aaron Brewer and his wife were at this time among the leading members in the meeting. Hugh Judge, a minister from New York Yearly Meeting, visiting Kingston in 1799, mentions his sojourn with these Friends:

"Aaron Brewer and his wife are tender, kind Friends ; they came into Society by conviction, and appear to be well grounded in the principles of Truth ; they are also very useful in the neighbourhood, and a Meeting is kept up in their house. . . . 29th. Attended meeting at Aaron Brewer's in the forenoon, and had another in the afternoon a few miles westward. Both were large and highly favoured opportunities. Truth's testimony reigned triumphantly over all, and the holy arm was magnified."*

In 1801 the Kingston Friends asked their Monthly Meeting for assistance to purchase a burying ground. Accordingly, a piece of rising ground was purchased in the village of Waterloo (now Cataraqui) about three miles north of Kingston. This beautiful property with its grove of pine trees which still dominate the surrounding country, became—after the decline of the Waterloo Meeting—the nucleus of a general burying ground for the City of Kingston, the present Cataraqui Cemetery, which was the last resting place of one of Canada's most distinguished sons, Sir John A. Macdonald. In 1803 Elias Hicks tells us that he attended a Preparative

* Hugh Judge, *Memoirs and Journal*, Philadelphia, 1841, pp. 270-271

Meeting at Kingston and "had a meeting in the town of Kingston in the Court House—the first Friends' Meeting ever held in that place". "The people"—he says—"seem unacquainted with the order of our meetings and some of the principal men seemed at a loss how to behave themselves in the time of silence, but during the communication (*i.e.* vocal part of service, the sermon or prayer) they were generally quiet and solemn". He adds the information "that Friends had no meeting house at this time, but meet at the home of Widow Brewer".* Elias Hicks also visited Friends in Adolphustown and in Prince Edward County, where, in the vicinity of West Lake, Friends were settling in considerable numbers.

West Lake

The first meeting for worship in West Lake was held at the house of Cornelius Blount in the Township of Hallowell as early as 1798.† At first meetings for worship had been held only once in two weeks, then they met once a week and finally twice a week; till in 1803, at their request, Nine Partners Monthly Meeting gave the necessary authorization to establish a regular Preparative Meeting, which was set up in Eleventh Month, 1803, as West Lake Preparative Meeting. In this same year the first Quaker Meeting House in Prince Edward County was built for the use of the New Preparative Meeting, which was, as far as appears, the first place of public worship in Prince Edward County.‡ The Committee in charge of the erection of the meeting house was composed of Thomas Bowerman and Townsend Carmen, who advised a log building twenty-one feet by thirty-one feet, which was eventually erected on a piece of ground donated by Judah

* *Journal of Elias Hicks*, p. 109, *op. cit.*

† *Journal of Rufus Hall*, 22/8/1798. "Attended a meeting at the house of Cornelius Blount and I thought it a favoured one."

‡ "The Old Conger's Methodist Church on the Bay High Shore, a couple of miles east of Picton, was the earliest church built in Prince Edward County, and is now perhaps the oldest Methodist Church in use in the entire Dominion. It was built in 1809." T. W. Casey, *Earliest Quakers*, etc, *op. cit.* The old log meeting house at West Lake was, however, six years older.

and Stephen Bowerman. The building has been described by one who remembered it as a log house with the usual removable, wooden partition dividing the men's from the women's side, with a capacity of about two hundred.* It stood on a height of land still known as Bowerman's Hill, overlooking what was then the northeastern portion of West Lake; but what is now a broad expanse of marsh, where cattle in the summer wallow up to their bellies in rank grass, while, meandering through the marsh towards West Lake with many a curve, flow the sluggish waters of Big Creek. In those early days, however, the waters of West Lake came close to the foot of the hill, so that children attending First Day or Preparative Meeting with their parents could slip down to the water's edge, there to throw stones at frogs, catch tadpoles, paddle, or do other delightful things which children have always done since history began. Running up the hill by the old log meeting house was the famous Danforth Road, which was then the main highway between Kingston and York (Toronto). The road ran from Kingston to Bath, through Adolphustown to Dorland's Point, where a ferry carried travellers across the waters of the Bay of Quinte to the foot of the "Lake on the Mountain", and hence to Picton (then Hallowell) at the head of Picton Bay. From here the road ran in a westerly direction through Bloomfield, up past the log meeting house on Bowerman's Hill, keeping the sparkling waters of West Lake in sight, till as one approached Wellington, there appeared beyond the blue expanse of Lake Ontario, stretching away to the horizon. At Wellington-on-the-Lake, the road left the shore and turned north to Consecon at the head of Lake Consecon, thence to "The Carrying Place"—an old Indian portage between Lake Ontario and the northern reach of the Bay of Quinte—where the road again turned west, following the Lake front to York, or Toronto as it was known later.

* *Reminiscences* of Adam Hubbs Saylor, MSS., taken by M. Merrill, April 21st, 1905.—Provincial Archives.

By 1817 the old log meeting house on Bowerman's Hill was no longer adequate, and it was proposed to erect a new meeting house about two miles east of the former site on the edge of the rising village of Bloomfield. Sufficient land, about six acres in all, was also procured for a burying ground across the road to the south of the meeting house. The land for the meeting house and burying ground at Bloomfield was originally deeded to the Meeting by John Bull and Jonathan Bowerman. The new meeting house was a fairly spacious frame building, fifty feet long, thirty feet wide, twenty feet high, with a gallery running round three sides. The estimated cost was \$1600.00. Hereafter West Lake Preparative Meeting met in the new meeting house at Bloomfield, and by 1821 had grown to such a size that it quite overtopped the original Monthly Meeting of Adolphustown, from which it had sprung.

In 1821 it was decided by Canada Half Year's Meeting to make West Lake a Monthly Meeting. At the same time Adolphustown Monthly Meeting was laid down and became simply a Preparative Meeting as a part of the newly organized West Lake Monthly Meeting, which by this time was quite the largest Monthly Meeting in the eastern part of Upper Canada.

Green Point

Several years after the organization of West Lake as a Preparative Meeting, another meeting had been organized at Green Point, in the Township of Sophiasburg, which comprised the northeastern projection of Prince Edward County, bounded on two sides by the Bay of Quinte. The beginning of Green Point was an indulged meeting which had met at the home of Jacob Cronk as early as 1808 and had continued for a number of years under the care of a special committee of Adolphustown Monthly Meeting till 1811, when it was established as a meeting for Discipline and Worship. In 1821 it became a part of West Lake Monthly Meeting, and a meeting

house was built on a delightful site overlooking the Bay about two miles below the present village of Northport. "Here," says Canniff, "the meeting house, reposing upon the very verge of the shore and half shadowed by beautiful maples and evergreens, is a fit place to which to submit oneself to strict self-examination. There is nothing here to disturb the supreme quiet of the place, unless the gentle ripples of the water or the more restless murmuring of the waves."*

Wellington

Meanwhile, the beginning of another little Friends' meeting in the Township of Ameliasburg (Prince Edward County) had been made in an indulged meeting at the home of Benjamin Garratt, which had been carried on since 1814. After 1816 the meeting gathered at the house of Jonathan Clarke twice a week, and in the following year it was recognized as a regular Preparative Meeting for Discipline and Worship by Adolphustown Monthly Meeting. When the latter Monthly Meeting was laid down, Ameliasburg, or Hillier Preparative Meeting, as it was later called, became a part of West Lake Monthly Meeting. This was the beginning of what still later became Wellington Preparative Meeting when in 1862 Wellington became incorporated as a village. John T. Dorland, formerly of Adolphustown, was the first town clerk of the newly incorporated village, and later served as Clerk of the Preparative Meeting for a number of years.

In the Township of Athol (Prince Edward County) there was also a little group of Friends at East Lake which for a number of years had been meeting for worship at the house of Arthur Ellsworth. In 1820 application was made for recognition as a separate Preparative Meeting, but they were advised by the Monthly Meeting to continue as a part of West Lake Preparative Meeting.

We see, therefore, that by the end of the first quarter of the century there was a strong organization of the Society of

* W. Canniff, *The Settlement of Upper Canada*, pp. 279-280. The meeting house has disappeared since this was written in 1869.

Friends in Prince Edward County, consisting of three constituent Preparative Meetings of West Lake Monthly Meeting, namely Bloomfield (West Lake and East Lake), Green Point, and Wellington (Ameliasburg and Hillier). In fact at this time the Society of Friends was the leading religious denomination in the County, and Prince Edward itself one of the most prosperous districts in Upper Canada. This may in part be attributed to the fact that many of its early Quaker settlers who came from New York State at the conclusion of the War of American Independence, had been people of considerable substance, much of which they brought with them, including horses and various kinds of live stock of a superior variety. Moreover, in after years various members of these old families—like the Bowermans, the Blounts, the Hubbs', the Dorlands—having a large connection still remaining in Dutchess County, New York, frequently visited the old home, and on their return brought back with them the best strains of horses, cattle, sheep and fowl, which were of immense value in a new country where good breeding stock was very scarce. They also introduced from New York State some of the finest varieties of fruit, so that for many years Prince Edward was the banner county in the production of superior fruit and more especially of apples. In a material way as well as in the things of the spirit, the Quaker pioneers of Prince Edward County have made a contribution to its history which can scarcely be overestimated.

Cold Creek

Just to the north of Prince Edward County, across the Bay of Quinte in the Township of Murray, a few Friends had been holding a meeting for worship since 1815 at Cold Creek. In 1820 the Meeting was held at the house of Samuel Clapp, and remained for a number of years under the care of a committee which visited the Meeting at stated intervals and reported its progress to Adolphustown Monthly Meeting. In 1821, however, when Adolphustown Monthly Meeting was

discontinued and became a part of West Lake Monthly Meeting, Cold Creek passed under the control of the new Monthly Meeting. Early in 1824 the Meeting at Cold Creek was discontinued for a short period by West Lake Monthly Meeting, owing to the fewness of its numbers and "a want of right unity in the Friends constituting it." But later in the same year, a meeting for worship was again allowed under the care of a committee. In 1825 a request was sent to West Lake Monthly Meeting "for a Meeting for worship and a Preparative Meeting at or near John Richmond's, to be called Cold Creek Preparative Meeting." The request was granted by the Monthly Meeting, and was approved the following year by Canada Half Year's Meeting. In accordance with the usual custom a committee was appointed by the Monthly Meeting to attend the opening of the new Meeting at Cold Creek, to give whatever assistance and advice that might be required. John Bull, Cornelius Bowerman, James Noxon, Joshua Waring, James Noxon, Junior, and Samuel D. Cronk were appointed to this service, which was duly performed in Eighth Month, 1826.

Haldimand

In the following year, West Lake Monthly Meeting extended its borders still further by the inclusion of a little group of Friends in Haldimand, the next township but one west of Murray Township, within which Cold Creek was situated. For several years Friends had been gathering for worship at the house of Freeman Clarke, which was situated not far from the site of the present town of Grafton. In Ninth Month, 1827, a Monthly Meeting Committee—consisting of Stephen Niles, Anthony Terrill, Gilbert Dorland and James Noxon, Junior—was appointed to attend the opening of a Meeting for Worship and a Preparative Meeting "at or near Freeman Clarke's, to be called Haldimand Preparative Meeting". These two new meetings in Haldimand and Murray were just nicely started, however, when the Separation of 1828 came as a serious blow to their continued growth and progress.

Meanwhile, further east of the earliest settlement at Adolphustown other little meetings were being held besides that of Kingston Preparative Meeting, which, as we have already seen, had been organized in 1801. Not all of these little groups, however, became regularly established meetings. One such group was at Ernestown on the lower reach of the Bay of Quinte, about half way between Adolphustown and Kingston. In 1812 Samuel Waters, John and Lydia Burey, and Charlotte Ellsworth, of Ernestown, asked permission from Adolphustown Monthly Meeting to hold a meeting on First Day once in two weeks at the house of Othniel Ellsworth. In 1817 the meeting was still under the care of a committee of Adolphustown Monthly Meeting, and was being held in the local schoolhouse. After this date nothing more about this little group appears on the records.

Leeds

Further down below Kingston on the River St. Lawrence, in the Townships of Leeds, Yonge, and Elizabethtown, were other scattered groups of Friends. It is impossible to say when the first Friends came into this part of Upper Canada. But when the celebrated Quaker Evangelical, Stephen Grellet, made his first visit to Canada in 1804, he apparently discovered in these townships a number of Friends, whom he encouraged "to meet together for Divine worship once a week".* This was evidently the beginning of a meeting which was held for several years as an "indulged meeting" in the cooper shop of Gersham Wing. It was recognized as a meeting for worship and discipline in 1818 by Adolphustown Monthly Meeting. Still further progress is indicated by a request which came to West Lake Monthly Meeting in 1821 for an "indulged meeting" in the township of Elizabethtown at or near Sala Blanchard's, to be held twice a week. Three years

* Benjamin Seebohm, *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of Stephen Grellet*, London, 1862, 3rd ed., vol. i, p. 79. When Stephen Grellet re-visited Upper Canada in 1822, he found a large body of Friends settled in that neighbourhood constituting Leeds Meeting. See note *ibid*, vol. ii, p. 0.

after this the Friends of Yonge Township built in the village of Farmersville (now Athens) a new frame meeting house which was one of the first places of public worship in that township.*

By 1824 the Friends in the Townships of Leeds, Yonge, and Elizabethtown were sufficiently strong to warrant their being granted a Monthly Meeting. At the same time Adolphustown Monthly Meeting, which had been laid down three years previously, asked permission to unite with the Friends in these three townships to form along with them a new Monthly Meeting. This request was granted by Canada Half Year's Meeting held at Yonge Street in 1825 by which a new Monthly Meeting was to be established known as Leeds and Adolphustown Monthly Meeting. It was to be held alternately at Adolphustown and at Leeds (Farmersville). It first met at Adolphustown in Tenth Month, 1825.

In spite of the prospect of greater usefulness held out by the organization of this new Monthly Meeting, it was not permitted to function for very long. Just three years later came the Great Separation which rent to pieces the whole Society of Friends in America from Canada to South Carolina. Not only Leeds and Adolphustown Monthly Meeting, but many other meetings never recovered from this blow; but this is another story, and will be dealt with elsewhere. By this time Friends were fairly strongly established in many important districts in Upper Canada; but the later Separations combined with the natural hesitancy of Friends to proselytize, prevented their rapid growth and seriously curtailed their influence.

* W. H. Leavitt, *History of Leeds and Grenville, 1749-1879*, Brockville, 1879. "The Society of Friends erected one of the first churches in the Township of Farmersville. The building, a wooden one, is still standing (1879) at the eastern end of the village. Previous to the building of the church the Society met for service in the cooper shop of Gersham Wing." The following are some of the names of the first members of the Society in this district: Lymen Abel, James Robeson, Samuel Olds, Turner Lillie, Joseph Bullard, Philip Wing, Otis Smith, Thomas Robeson, Abraham Palmer, Jedekiah Wing, Harvey Derbyshire, William Church, Gersham Wing.

CHAPTER VI

FIRST SETTLEMENTS AND ORGANIZATION IN CENTRAL UPPER CANADA

*Yonge Street, Whitchurch, Uxbridge, Pickering, comprising
Yonge Street Quarter**

Canada Half Year's Meeting, 1810

BY the opening of the nineteenth century there had been established two organized groups of Friends in Upper Canada, the one consisting of Pelham Monthly Meeting and its constituent meetings in the Niagara District and in Canada West, the other—about three hundred miles distant—of Adolphustown Monthly Meeting on the Bay of Quinte. The tide of westward migration was next to bring a band of Quaker pioneer families into the old Home District in the central part of Upper Canada.

As early as 1797 Timothy Rogers, then living near Vergennes, Vt., had expressed to his meeting a concern to go westward “to open a door for a meeting of Friends in a new settlement”. But as the overseers of this meeting offered no encouragement and other circumstances were unfavourable, he was not able to accomplish his purpose. In 1800, however, learning, as he tells us, “that there are places where there are Friends’ meetings at the Bay of Quinte in New York Yearly Meeting and Pelham in the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia for Pennsylvania”, he decided to go into this north country “to find a place between them and be helpful to get Friends into Upper Canada united”. With this definite purpose in view, Timothy Rogers set out on his long journey northward. His companion and son-in-law, Rufus Rogers, he says, gave out before he went half way. On reaching York in the Home District our friend still led, as he tells us, by his concern, struck thirty or forty miles into the back country; and as he proceeded he became more and more impressed with the

* See Map inside front cover.

belief that this was the proper place for him to locate. He forthwith returned to York and made application to Lieutenant-Governor Hunter for forty farms of two hundred acres each in this district, undertaking at the same time to secure the necessary settlers. While waiting for his land patents to be made out, Timothy Rogers—to whom inactivity was evidently unbearable—made a visit to the Friends in the Niagara District. On his return to York he discovered that two Friends from Muncey Monthly Meeting, Pennsylvania, Samuel Lundy and Isaac Phillips, had secured a grant of land for twenty more families in a district adjacent to him. The Lieutenant-Governor Hunter showed himself very favourably disposed toward these Friends. When on one occasion they complained of vexatious delay in the procuring of their land patents, the Governor summoned into his presence the officials concerned, and delivered a stiff ultimatum to the effect that the necessary documents must be forthcoming within three days or they would be dismissed. Needless to say, the patents were forthcoming.*

After returning to settle his affairs, Timothy Rogers again set out for Upper Canada in the late winter of 1801 with his wife, family and effects "loaded on seven sleighs." He started on the 17th of January, and did not arrive at his land on Yonge Street till about the first of May. The hardships of such a journey especially for Sarah Rogers, his brave wife with a baby in arms, may in part at least be imagined.† By 1803 the land which he had been granted had been taken up, and he was given a signed statement from the

* "Among the patents carried back by Timothy Rogers were at least seven in which he was more or less interested. His own lot was No. 95 on the west or King side of Yonge Street. Immediately in front of him in the Whitchurch or east side on lots 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, all in a row, were engaged by sons or near relatives of his, bearing the names respectively of Rufus, Asa, Isaac, Wing, James, and Obadiah Rogers."—Robertson, *Landmarks of Toronto*, vol. ii, pp. 696-697.

† Regarding this trip to Canada Timothy Rogers' *Journal* contains the following laconic account: "On the 17th I started seven sleighs and all my effects and had a tedious voyage. My wife Sarah had a son just before I started that I named after the Chief Justice, John Elmsley Rogers. We had a great move and many trials, but got on the ground about the first of fifth month, 1801."

Lieutenant-Governor to the effect that he had satisfactorily fulfilled all obligations connected therewith.*

As most of the Friends on Yonge Street had come from within the limits of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, they were placed under the authority of the nearest Monthly Meeting at Pelham, which had been established by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1799. The first meetings for worship were held at the house of Timothy Rogers; and later an indulged meeting was allowed at the house of his son-in-law, Rufus Rogers. In 1802 the Friends on Yonge Street requested a Preparative Meeting, which, after the visit of a Yearly Meeting's Committee,† was duly granted in 1804 and first opened for business the 21st of Sixth Month, with Nathaniel Pearson as presiding clerk.‡

*"These are to certify that Mr. Timothy Rogers has completed the settlement he undertook in this province, much to my satisfaction, and has in all respects conducted and demeaned himself as a good moral character and faithful subject.

Dated at York the 29th of December in the Year of our Lord, 1803.

(Signed) PETER HUNTER, Lieutenant-Governor."

† *Minute of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting* held in Philadelphia by adjournments from 16th of Fourth Month to 20th of the same, 1804. "A report of the committee who have been religiously exercised in care for the preservation and help of our members residing in Upper Canada, being produced, we are thereby informed that there are a number amongst the youth and others who appear tender and hopeful and claim the sympathy of this meeting, being subjected to inconvenience for want of suitable schools; and as the number of families settled at Yonge Street has of late considerably increased the committee having by a selection from among themselves recently paid them a visit, unite in a belief that it might be safe to establish a meeting for worship and a Preparative Meeting at that place; and that the business of the meeting be transacted by men and women in a united capacity . . . with the addition that the said Preparative Meeting have authority to take cognizance of presentations on account of marriages and make due appointments for their orderly accomplishment, that they keep regular records of the certificates of those marriages and fair minutes of the proceedings on such other business as is proper to a Preparative Meeting. And at least every three months transmit by appointment to the Monthly Meeting of Pelham requisite reports for its information and satisfaction.

Extracted from the minutes.

Jonathan Evans, Clerk."

‡ "This meeting appoints Isaac Phillips, William Phillips, Samuel Lundy and Asa Rogers to bring forward a suitable name to take the station of clerk." William Pearson and Hannah James were the first members "to lay before the meeting their intention of marriage. "Robert Woods, Isaac Phillips, Edith Phillips, Sarah Rogers are appointed to make the necessary inquiry into their clearness of other marriage engagements and report to the next meeting." Amos Armitage was appointed First Recorder of marriages.—From the records of *Yonge Street Monthly Meeting*, 1804.

In September, 1806, Yonge Street was set off from Pelham as a Monthly Meeting, though it was to remain directly under the jurisdiction of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. It first consisted of the Preparative Meetings of Yonge Street and of Whitchurch, though presently the little Quaker settlements in the adjoining townships of East Gwillimbury, Uxbridge and Pickering were to be established as constituent meetings.

At its first session Yonge Street Monthly Meeting presented an address to Lieutenant-Governor Francis Gore, on the occasion of his arrival in Upper Canada. This quaintly worded document asserted the loyalty of Friends to the existing Government, though attention was also drawn to their special testimony regarding war. Timothy Rogers and Amos Armitage were appointed by the meeting to present this address to the Governor in person. They later reported to the meeting "a satisfactory answer in writing under his own hand". In this reply the Governor stated his appreciation of the good wishes of Friends as expressed in their address and his entire confidence in the good qualities of their citizenship.*

*The text of this petition, which appeared in *The Gazette* of October 4, 1806, was as follows: "On Tuesday, the 30th of September, 1806, the following address from the Quakers residing on Yonge Street was presented to His Excellency, the Lieutenant-Governor:—'The Society of the people called Quakers, to Francis Gore, Governor of Upper Canada, sendeth greeting. Notwithstanding, we are a people, who hold forth to the world a principle which in many respects differs from the greater part of mankind, yet we believe in our reasonable duty as saith the Apostle: 'Submit yourselves unto every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be the king as supreme, or unto governors as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers and for the praise of them that do well'; in this we hope to be his humble and peaceful subjects. Although we cannot for conscience sake join with many of our fellow mortals in complimentary customs of man, neither in taking up the sword to shed human blood, for the Scriptures saith that 'it is righteousness that exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people,' we feel concerned for the welfare and the prosperity of the province, hoping thy administration may be such as to be a terror to the evil-minded and a pleasure to them that do well, then will thy province flourish and prosper under thy direction, which is the earnest desire and prayer of thy sincere friends. Read and approved in Yonge Street Monthly Meeting of Friends, 18th, Ninth Month, 1806."

To this the Governor made answer:—"I return you my thanks for your dutiful address and for your good wishes for my welfare and prosperity of this province. I have no doubts of your proving peaceful and good subjects to His Majesty as well as industrious and respectable members of society. I shall at all times be happy to afford to such persons my countenance and support. (Signed) Francis Gore, Lieutenant-Governor, Government House, York, Upper Canada, 30th September, 1806."

Down to this time Friends at Yonge Street had been meeting for worship "in a log room" which was probably a dwelling house on one of the Rogers' farms on Yonge Street. The Monthly Meeting did not acquire any property of its own till 1807, when two acres of land were deeded by Asa Rogers and Mary his wife for the use of the meeting. This was lot number 92, on the west side of Yonge Street, in the first concession of the Township of King. Nathaniel Brown, Amos Armitage and Israel Lundy were the first trustees of the Monthly Meeting property. In the following year subscriptions were raised for a new frame meeting house which was to be thirty-five feet by seventy feet, one story high, and to cost One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty Dollars. In 1810 about two additional acres of land were secured to enlarge the meeting house grounds. It was also decided at this time to revise somewhat the original plan of the new meeting house by cutting down its dimensions to thirty feet by sixty feet. This new meeting house was completed in 1810, and was a frame structure of the usual plain type. This Quaker Meeting House and a little Anglican Chapel of an almost equally unpretentious character, not far from York, were—according to Gourlay—the only two places of public worship on Yonge Street in 1817.

The leading minister in Yonge Street Meeting during these early years was Job Hughes, a recommended minister who had come from Pennsylvania to Yonge Street about 1807. He died about 1810, while on his way to attend New York Yearly Meeting. Another of the heads of the meeting was Jacob Winn from Vermont, "a fine, tender minister", as he was described by a contemporary who knew and loved him as a neighbour and friend. These two Friends in company with Timothy Rogers visited Adolphustown Monthly Meeting in 1808, and evidently were among the leading spirits in bringing about the amalgamation of the three Monthly Meetings of Pelham, Adolphustown, and Yonge Street in 1810 under Canada Half Year's Meeting.

Queen Street

Meanwhile, Friends were moving away from Yonge Street into the back townships where new settlements were being formed and new meetings established. In 1807 a meeting for worship was allowed by Yonge Street Monthly Meeting to be held at the house of Nathaniel Ray in the Township of Gwillimbury. In accordance with the usual custom this "indulged meeting" was placed under the care of a Monthly Meeting committee consisting of Samuel Lundy, Charles Chapman, Isaac Phillips, Reuben Bur, Nathaniel Pearson and Obadiah Griffin. Three years later (1810) the meeting was recognized as a regular Preparative Meeting to be known as Queen Street Preparative Meeting. The first trustees of the meeting house property of which the land had been given by David Willson, were Israel Lundy, James Varney and Joshua Dunham. This meeting was not much more than nicely started when it was disrupted, in 1812, by the first of the disastrous separations within the Society; though fortunately this particular one at Queen Street, associated with David Willson and the Children of Peace, was entirely of a local character.

Whitchurch

In the neighbouring Township of Whitchurch a number of Friends who had been holding an indulged meeting since 1805 asked for recognition as a regular Preparative Meeting in 1810. In 1814 property for a meeting house was secured from Samuel Lundy, being lot number 31 in the fourth concession. The first trustees were: Henry Widdifield, Watson Playter, Peter Williams, James Willson. Owing to some disciplinary irregularity the request (in 1810 for a Preparative Meeting) was not granted, though it was finally authorized by Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, in 1816. Watson Playter was made the first clerk of Whitchurch Preparative Meeting at its opening session. In this year some repairs were made on the first meeting house at Whitchurch by which it was made to serve

its purpose till 1827, when the proposal was made to erect a new building. This building was begun in the same year; but the unfortunate difficulties connected with the Hicksite Separation of 1828 delayed its completion. It eventually passed into the hands of the Hicksite Friends; while the first building, which stood in a fine old maple grove directly beside it, was remodelled and was used for years by the Friends of the Orthodox branch. This property is near what is now called Pine Orchard, which is about four miles from the present town of Newmarket.

Uxbridge

Uxbridge, which was another Preparative Meeting belonging to Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, had its origin in a group of a dozen Quaker families from Pennsylvania, who in 1805 had pushed thirty miles or more east of Yonge Street into the dense pine forest which covered Uxbridge Township at that time. The way in which the long journey overland from Pennsylvania was accomplished is well described in the life of Joseph Gould (Gold), whose family was among that first little band of pioneers.*

"The long journey from Pennsylvania was accomplished in large covered wagons of the most primitive style with four horse teams. Over the ample wagon boxes there were raised large bent hoops and these were securely covered over with strong canvas. In these receptacles were stowed away the beds and the bedding and the provisions, the feed for the horses, all the necessary cooking and other household utensils, the family clothing and all other household belongings for which space could be found. In journeying along they stopped wherever night overtook them, gave their horses a small feed of oats and then turned them loose to pick up whatever grass they could by the wayside. Some of the party were able to bring with them a cow to provide their

* W. H. Higgins, *Life and Times of Joseph Gould*, Toronto, 1887, pp. 24, 25. The names of some of the first settlers of Uxbridge are: Elijah Collins, James Hughes, George Webb, Charles Chapman, Samuel Siddons, Samuel Haines, Job Webb, Ezekial Roberts, Robert Wilson, Amos Hilborn, Joseph Collins, William Gold, Ezekial James, Thomas Hilborn, Jonathan Gold. They all came from the State of Pennsylvania.—*Ibid*, p. 26.

little children with milk on the way, and this was the means of supplying most needful wants to the young. They travelled slowly, making not more than twenty miles a day, taking over three weeks to make the journey. They crossed over the Niagara River above the Falls, and so around by Hamilton and down to Little York, and thence north up Yonge Street to Newmarket."

When the first Quaker settlers went into Uxbridge Township they were on the northernmost limits of the Canadian frontier, as there were no white settlers in the regions beyond at this time. There was also at first no road in from Yonge Street; but only a rough trail "blazed" through the forest, and winding up hill and down dale among the dark green pines. Indians were numerous in the district, though they were friendly and generally harmless, except when drunk. Young lads in their teens were required to assist in the work of clearing the land, and many at this age were of necessity expert axemen. The land in Uxbridge Township was heavily wooded so that if ten acres were cleared and seeded in one year in the district, it was considered an exceptional feat; though the owner would be lucky not to be in debt for the work of clearing, chopping and burning at the end of this time.*

In 1806 an indulged meeting in Uxbridge Township was allowed by Yonge Street Monthly Meeting at the house of Charles Chapman, one of the first dozen pioneers of the township. In 1808 Uxbridge Friends were discussing the best place for a meeting house and burying ground which finally they "were united with to place on the northeast corner of lot number 29 in the fifth concession of the township." The first trustees appointed by the meeting to take care of its property were Joseph Collins, Charles Chapman and James Hughes. In 1817 a regular meeting for worship and a Preparative Meeting were established at Uxbridge by authority of the superior meeting at Yonge Street. Three years later the first log meeting house was replaced by a frame building which doubtless was roomier and more comfortable; though no undue

**Ibid*, p. 62.

concessions in the latter direction were ever made in the construction of the Quaker meeting houses of this period. The cemetery adjoining the meeting house on what was long known as "Quaker Hill", was for years used as a general burying ground for the district, and holds the dust of many of its first pioneers.

Pickering

Among the earliest settlers of Pickering Township were several who had first gone to Yonge Street, most prominent among these being Timothy Rogers, who was, therefore, the pioneer of two important Quaker settlements in Upper Canada. About 1809 Timothy removed with his family from Yonge Street to Duffin's Creek, where he operated what was probably the first grist and saw mill in the township. It was built, he tells us, "so that a boat could come three miles from the Lake, and land goods at my mill door". He also mentions the fine salmon which were caught near the mouth of the creek, averaging seven to ten pounds, and some, he assures us, even twenty pounds. In 1809 and 1810 the settlements at Yonge Street and in Pickering Township were swept by an epidemic of sickness which took heavy toll of their inhabitants. Five daughters of Timothy Rogers—all married—died within a short time of each other; and two sons—the one eighteen and the youngest nine—besides his son-in-law, Rufus Rogers, were also taken. In addition Timothy Rogers mentions the fact that thirty friends who were personally known to him, died about this time. He says of the epidemic, "that first it was called typhus fever, but latterly we have had the measles, by which some have departed this life; but mostly it has been such an uncommon Disorder that it seems to baffle the skill of the wisest and best physicians". In 1810 Timothy Rogers went back to the United States and returned with another company of settlers who were settled in Pickering Township, east of Duffin's Creek. For his services Timothy Rogers received a grant of several hundred acres of land near the

present village of Pickering.* In 1812 Timothy Rogers moved into a new house on his property near the village of Pickering. But this was a sad occasion, since just a short time before, his wife had been taken suddenly ill and had died at a friend's house. They had been journeying to York to buy some furnishings for the new home in which Sarah Rogers had hoped to spend in peace and comfort her declining years when death overtook her, leaving her husband with four young children.

The Friends in Pickering Township first made a request for the privilege of holding a meeting for worship on First and Fourth Days, in 1810. Before granting this request a committee was appointed by Yonge Street Monthly Meeting which after visiting a number of the families, reported it as their judgment that "there was not yet a sufficient concern of mind amongst them to enable them to hold a meeting". In 1812 Yonge Street Monthly Meeting allowed an indulged meeting to be held at the house of John Haight which was situated near the edge of what is now the village of Pickering. In 1814 Timothy Rogers gave Friends about seven acres of land for a meeting house and yard, being in lot number 13 in the fifth concession of Pickering Township. The first trustees of this property on behalf of the Monthly Meeting were Watson Playter, Thomas Linville, Asa Rogers, Nicholas Brown and James Varney. In the year 1819 a regular meeting for worship and a Preparative Meeting were established at Pickering, and in the same year the first meeting house was built. This building was used until 1833-4, when a new two story frame house, with galleries fifty feet by twenty-six feet, was begun. This structure was used until 1866-7, when a new red brick house was constructed for the use of the recently organized Canada Yearly Meeting of Friends. In 1908 this house was struck by lightning and partly destroyed, along with a great many valuable papers and books; but it was afterwards restored and is in use at the present time. It was

* W. R. Wood, *Past Years in Pickering*, pp. 18-19. Among the family names of the earliest Quaker pioneers in Pickering Township were: Rogers, Brown, Haight, Wright, Reason, Cornell, Taylor, Dale, Boone, Betts, Richardson, Hughes.

in the original brick meeting house that in 1867 the first Yearly Meeting of Friends in Canada was held, thereby fulfilling the vision of one of the founders of Pickering Meeting, who, writing in 1809, said, "This place although very new, is about the centre of Friends in Upper Canada. I believe in time it will produce a Yearly Meeting within ten miles of this spot where I live on Duffin's Creek."*

Canada Half Year's Meeting

By the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century the Society of Friends was firmly established in the western, central and eastern districts of Upper Canada, where, as we have seen, three Monthly Meetings had grown up of Pelham, Adolphustown and Yonge Street. Evidence of the growing strength and confidence of the Society in Canada was the demand in 1808 to unite these three Monthly Meetings under a superior meeting of discipline in Canada, having the powers of a Quarterly Meeting. Friends in the last established Monthly Meeting at Yonge Street appear to have been especially active in promoting this change. As a result of this feeling, the mother Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia and of New York appointed a joint committee to visit the three Monthly Meetings in Canada to enquire into the situation. In 1809 this committee reported:

"That seven of our members had visited all the meetings which constitute the three Monthly Meetings, except a small indulged meeting at Buffalow in the State of New York, and attended all the Monthly Meetings from whose accounts of their situations our sympathy was excited; and although they appear to be in an infant state and the Monthly Meetings widely separated, yet we believe it would promote their religious improvement to grant them such a meeting as it requested, to be held alternately at West Lake, a branch of Adolphus and at Yonge Street . . . to become a branch of the Yearly Meeting of New York, as the members of the three Monthly Meetings judge it best they should belong thereto. The Monthly Meeting of Adolphus is composed of three

* Timothy Rogers' *Journal*.

Preparatives, Kingston, Adolphus and West Lake ; Yonge Street of Queen Street and White Church ; Pelham of two Preparatives, *viz.*, Black Creek and Pelham. The families and parts of families are in the whole rather upward of two hundred of whom three-fourths are within Adolphustown and Yonge Street."

The report of the joint committee was accepted by each Yearly Meeting, but as it had been agreed that the proposed Quarterly or Half Year's Meeting should be under the authority of New York, it was for the latter meeting to proceed with the matter. Accordingly, a strong committee was appointed by New York Yearly Meeting, in conjunction with a committee from Philadelphia, to attend the opening of the new Half Year's Meeting and to furnish the meetings which had formerly belonged to Philadelphia with a copy of the printed discipline of New York Yearly Meeting. A copy of the Yearly Meeting minutes embodying this decision was also to be sent to each of the Monthly Meetings in Canada.

In January, 1810, the first session of Canada Half Year's Meeting was opened at West Lake in the little log meeting house on Bowerman's Hill which was to be discarded, however, for the much larger building soon afterwards erected in the nearby village of Bloomfield. Amos Armitage from Yonge Street was appointed the first Clerk of the men's meeting, while Lydia S. Dorland, of Adolphustown, was the first Clerk of the women's meeting.

At the time that Canada Half Year's Meeting was organized there were about two hundred families and parts of families, or roughly speaking about a thousand members of the Society of Friends in Upper Canada; but the numbers continued to grow rapidly as the creation of new Preparative Meetings after 1810 at Norwich, Yarmouth, Uxbridge, Pickering, Green Point, Ameliasburg, Leeds and elsewhere was evidence. By 1828 there were in the neighbourhood of two thousand five hundred members, and these in centres like Norwich, Yonge Street and West Lake constituted at this time the leading religious denomination in the community. This growth was, however, largely the result of migration from the



A Typical Settler's Home, about 1800



The Passing of Pioneer Conditions
A Typical Ontario Home, about 1840

United States, rather than of proselytizing among their neighbours concerning which Quakers were unnecessarily reticent. By about 1830 the tide of Quaker emigration into the Middle West of the United States had considerably slackened, so that this circumstance, along with the paralyzing results of the Great Separation of 1828, checked the growth of the Society during the second half of the nineteenth century. With the decline of emigration from the United States and the passing of the conditions of pioneer life, the Society of Friends in Canada also passed the meridian of its numbers and strength.

There were many things about the Society which made it particularly suitable to a primitive, pioneer community. In addition to its simplicity, its independent self-containing organization, its community life, its close discipline, it allowed a large place for individual initiative. All this had a special appeal for the time. But as with the advance of the nineteenth century, life became more varied and complex, the Society of Friends remained substantially unchanged, tending to draw more and more in upon itself, as this changing life pressed upon it on every hand. But while the Society continued to touch life at various points, it was less and less than it had been at the first in many Canadian communities, in the main current of their life and progress.*

* See Appendix (b), Chart I., showing the meetings established by the Society of Friends in Canada prior to the Great Separation of 1828.

CHAPTER VII

THE FIRST RELIGIOUS SEPARATION IN CANADA

The Children of Peace, 1812

ALMOST anyone who knows anything about Quakerism in America knows something about the Great Separation of 1828 and the later one of 1881. But few, even among Friends, know little, if anything, about the first separation within the Society in Canada, namely, that of the "Children of Peace", or "Davidites", which occurred in 1812. This schism, led by David Willson of Queen Street, had no wide spread nor lasting influence, and was entirely local in its results. Nevertheless, the connection of this original person with Friends and his later defection from the Society under the urge of his newly found faith, furnish a vivid bit of colour in a picture of which the background is in the main rather gray and sombre.

David Willson was not a "birthright member" of the Society. He had been brought up, so he tells us, "by pious Presbyterian parents whose fortunes in life left me far below the means of common school learning". Again, referring to his early training, he says, "my education was bounded by one year". His educational equipment was obviously very slight. After working for a time* as a day labourer, as a joiner, and then as a sailor, he came to Canada about 1801 and adopted the profession of a school teacher, for which his self-confessed lack of formal education was in those days no necessary disqualification.† It is uncertain when David Willson became a member of Friends, but it is likely that he joined

* David Willson, *Remarks on Education in The Practical Life of David Willson*, 1860.

† *History of the County of York*, vol. i, p. 174. H. Scadding, *Toronto of Old*, Toronto, 1873, also contains an interesting account of Willson's life.

the Society soon after his coming to Canada. He was one of the leading Friends in Queen Street Preparative Meeting, and gave the property on which the Meeting House was situated. He held various positions of responsibility in Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, of which he was a member. He has been described as an earnest member spending much time in meditation and frequently taking part in vocal service. His name first appears on the Meeting records in 1806 as Recorder of Certificates for the newly established Monthly Meeting at Yonge Street; and from time to time the minutes show that he served on several important committees. In 1810 he was the first named member on a committee appointed by Canada Half Year's Meeting to consider "whether Friends could consistently with their views on war and a free gospel ministry receive lands from the Government which were given for actual service in war or for assisting therein, or lease Clergy Reserve Lands". The committee gave it as their united opinion that Friends could not consistently do any of these things. The presence of David Willson on this committee may possibly have given an impetus to his own thinking in a direction which he presently discovered as quite out of harmony with the traditional views of Friends. David Willson's name last appears on the minutes of Yonge Street Monthly Meeting as a member in good standing, when in 1811 he was one of a committee to consider an appeal from Pelham Monthly Meeting to Canada Half Year's Meeting held at Yonge Street, in March, 1811. Not long after he parted company with Friends. The outbreak of war between Great Britain and the United States in 1812 seems to have precipitated a crisis in his religious life, and set him thinking furiously along new lines. He passed through a period of deep spiritual conflict. "My soul"—he says—"was not only separated from all flesh as to my inward feelings, but from all religious records, even the Bible, and I was constrained to live by my own knowledge of the Word of God operating upon my mind. My natural food left me in despair. I became a stranger to myself and there was none to comfort me but

God alone.”* It was in this state of mind that there came to him a special revelation: “I found”—he says—“a sentence written in the laws of my heart to arise and speak of the Lord in the Society of Quakers.” But the Quaker doctrine of self-illumination by the Holy Spirit which he was here invoking, was to lead him in a direction widely divergent from the path of traditional Quakerism. He seems to have reacted violently against the prevailing colourlessness and quietism of the Society of Friends. Perhaps he felt that the Society was too negative in its attitude and too much passively aloof from the affairs of the world to have any real influence upon it. The lowering war clouds evidently suggested to his mind a more picturesque and vivid way of presenting to the world the ideal of a religious brotherhood, which according to his own admission first attracted him to the Society of Friends. The new religion of which he became the exponent had no creed nor reasoned basis, and according to orthodox standards would be regarded as dangerous evidence of free thought. Willson apparently believed that the distinguishing merits of his faith were its catholicity and its spirituality.† But while he attracted the majority of Friends at Queen Street to his movement, it did not commend itself to many beyond the immediate neighbourhood. At most his religious ideas were a confused hodge-podge of Quaker mysticism and Jewish ceremonialism of which the ancient Temple worship was made the central feature.

Proceedings were first taken against David Willson in eighth month, 1812, when the overseers of his Preparative

* David Willson, *A Collection of Items of the Life of David Willson, from the year 1801 to 1852, by my own hand. For the People of Sharon, East Gwillimbury, County of York, C.W.*, printed by G. S. Porter, Newmarket, 1852.

† “We are without distinction or excommunication, or reception of articles of faith. We are a mixture of Jew and Gentile and our communion bounds the whole.” David Willson, *A Collection of Items, etc.*, *op. cit.* “We had built a habitation for the poor and ignorant of the land. It is found by many to be a place of rest as far as theory is concerned for the salvation of the soul. All kinds are welcome in, but there is no room for learning of a high degree: the vessel is too small to receive it. Contentment crowns our offerings and our time is spent in the praise of the Lord. The Harp utters the sounds of salvation and our hymns speak peace to our souls.”—David Willson, *Remarks on Education, etc.*, *op. cit.*

Meeting at Queen Street reported to Yonge Street Monthly Meeting that "David Willson has so far disregarded the good order that should be observed amongst us as not to rise from his seat when a Friend appeared in supplication (*i.e.* offered vocal prayer) in a meeting for worship, and a few weeks ago stood up in a first day meeting and expressed his intention of separating from us, intending to open his own house in order to hold meetings on the first and fifth days of the week, and since that time he with some others of our number had not attended our meetings, but had been in the practice of attending meetings at the said David Willson's."* Following the customary procedure a committee was appointed by the Monthly Meeting to restore if possible the erring one, but it was compelled to report failure inasmuch as "David Willson did not appear disposed to acknowledge himself to be wrong, but believed it right for him to continue in the way that he is now in, not expecting that Friends would continue him in membership with them; which being considered it appears to be the judgment of the meeting that he be disowned".†

David Willson's own version of his disownment is borne out by the records of the Monthly Meeting. He says: "I retired from the Society and was disowned by them for so doing, but several were disowned also because they would not unite in disowning and condemning the fruits of my spirit; for as I had been accounted a faithful member of the Society for many years they did not like to be hasty in condemnation. After I retired from my former meeting, as our discipline led to peace with all people more than anyone in my knowledge, we called ourselves Children of Peace because we were but young therein."‡

* *Records of Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 13/8/1812.*

† *Records of Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 17/9/1812.*

‡ Quoted from pamphlet by David William, published in Philadelphia, 1815. Scadding says regarding David Willson's disownment, "that he was cut off from the Hicksite subdivision of the Quaker body". Scadding, *Toronto of Old, op. cit.*, p. 486. To anyone acquainted with the history of Friends, this error is at once manifest, as the Hicksite Separation did not occur till 1828. Other authors have copied this error. *Vide, History of the County of York*, vol. i, p. 174. Both Scadding and the *History of the County of York* contain interesting descriptions of David's Temple and the Temple ceremony at Sharon. *Vide*, also W. H. Smith, *Canada, Past, Present and Future*, Toronto, 1851, vol. i, pp. 285-286.

Within the next two years about thirty of the members of Queen Street Preparative Meeting were disowned for joining the new movement. They were not only leaders in the Meeting, but their names may be found among the earliest land holders in the Township of East Gwillimbury and among its first officers. By 1825 Queen Street Meeting was so reduced in numbers and strength that Yonge Street Monthly Meeting decided to hand over the Meeting House and grounds to David Willson, by whom the land had originally been given. One or two of the few remaining families of Friends removed about this time to Yonge Street, so that the district around Sharon became a stronghold of the new sect. W. L. Mackenzie, visiting Sharon in 1828, gives a lively and favourable account of the settlement and of the new temple then in process of erection. He states that at this time there were about two hundred regular attendants.* About six years later their numbers were estimated at about two hundred and eighty.† They probably never exceeded four hundred adherents at any time, though their special festivals attracted large numbers from the countryside far and near. The substantial following which David Willson secured in the community and the picturesque nature of the worship he evolved, shows him to have possessed both imaginative power and distinct qualities of leadership.

In the year that Friends abandoned the Queen Street Meeting, the "Children of Peace" or "Davidites", as they were also called, began the erection in Sharon of their singular Temple, which—along with the elaborate ceremonial worship connected therewith—reveals how violently David Willson had reacted from the simplicity and quietism of the Quakers. When constructing this Temple, Willson's followers had the framework prepared at a distance and afterwards put together, in imitation of the method of building Solomon's Temple,

* W. L. Mackenzie, *The Children of Peace*, in *Sketches of Canada and the United States*, Toronto, 1833.

† Patrick Swift's *Almanac*, 1834. It is further stated here that the Children of Peace had started places of preaching at the old Court House, York, on Yonge Street, and at Markham.

without the sound of a hammer or the use of a nail. Like its prototype it was said to have taken seven years to complete. This extraordinary place of worship was a lofty wooden structure painted white on the outside. The bottom story, sixty feet square and twenty-two feet high, was surmounted by a second story twenty-seven feet high, containing a sort of gallery or "crystal music room". Both stories were lighted by numerous square paned windows. Above the second story there was still a third, a sort of cupola, twelve feet square, pierced by many windows and surmounted by a large gilt ball. At the corners of each story were large square lanterns or turrets with gilt mountings. On two sides of the main story was a symbolic representation of the setting sun and the words "Armageddon" inscribed below. The interior of the building was also painted white, fawn and green; while its arrangement was likewise supposed to carry out certain symbolic ideas. For example, on pillars supporting the second story were the names of the twelve apostles, while the four central pillars supporting the upper story, represented Faith, Hope, Love and Charity. Within these pillars was a large square cabinet of black walnut, with a door and several windows on each side, containing a table covered with black velvet on which rested a Bible. The Temple was opened twice a year, once in June at the time of the Seeding Festival, and again in September at the Harvest Festival. On these occasions the Temple was illuminated by hundreds of candles, so that from top to bottom the whole structure was a blaze of light. This was supposed to represent Christianity enlightening the world. In 1843 the Children of Peace erected what was called the Town Meeting House, a large frame building, one hundred feet by fifty feet, surrounded by a porch which was supported by a colonnade of wooden pillars. This building contained an exceptionally fine organ, which, along with a large choir of white robed females and the instruments played by a trained band, provided a very elaborate musical setting for the ceremonial worship. Indeed, at one time, this choir had the finest silver band in the whole province.

The Children of Peace must have stimulated the imaginative and musical life of the community, and added to the gaiety of the nation, even if failing to make a very deep impression on its religious life. Moreover, they did not hide their gifts under a bushel, nor had they any of the traditional diffidence of the Quakers in placing themselves in the public view. Taking their cue, perhaps from a Methodist camp meeting, the Davidites periodically journeyed in a body to the capital of Upper Canada, driving their lumber wagons down Yonge Street in a procession, to assemble at the old Court House which was apparently their usual place of meeting in the town. The choir of white robed females and the silver band must have provided a picturesque setting for David Willson, the prophet and leader of the Children of Peace. It was his custom on such occasions to deliver his exhortation to the assembled audience in instalments which were punctuated by hymns of his own composition sung by the choir and accompanied by the silver band. While Scadding calls David Willson "an illiterate mystic", his sermons were not the empty vapourings of a ranter, but seem to be chiefly remembered as political polemics against the Tory government and the Family Compact rather than as religious exhortations. His subject was usually, "Public Affairs and their Total Depravity", on which he would declaim at great length and with much vigour. Occasionally he generated as much heat as light on the subject of his address, making it necessary to remove his coat. This was accomplished, however, without any check to his flow of eloquence, thereby displaying to his audience "a pair of sturdy arms arrayed—not indeed in the dainty lawn of a bishop but, in stout, well bleached American factory cotton."

Though David Willson never went beyond the advocacy of constitutional opposition to the Government, several of his followers joined W. L. Mackenzie during the rebellion of 1837-38, while David Willson and his two sons were arrested during this troubled time. David Willson was released soon after his arrest, but the sons were imprisoned for five months in Toronto jail; while one of them, John, was taken to Kingston,



The Temple of Peace
Sharon, Ont.



David Willson
Founder of the sect known as
the "Children of Peace."



The Meeting House of the "Children of Peace", Sharon, York County, Ontario, which was torn down after the society had ceased to exist.
The small house was used in preparing the three great feasts, on the first Saturday in June, the first Saturday in September, and Christmas Day.

where he was confined for seven months longer. The strong political bias of the movement, combined with its picturesque qualities, and its vague aspirations after an ideal, religious brotherhood, were probably the chief reasons for its temporary success. It is certain that East Gwillimbury was for a long time regarded as a hot bed of Whig and Radical sentiment.

The pronounced character of David Willson's political and religious views did not win for him either exile or martyrdom. "He lived on in great worldly prosperity in Sharon, revered by his adherents as a sort of oracle, flattered by the attentions from successive political leaders on account of the influence which he might be supposed locally to possess, down to the year 1866, when he died in peace, aged 89 years, 7 months.* One of David Willson's sons succeeded the deceased patriarch as a leader of the Children of Peace; but their numbers and influence gradually declined until by the last quarter of the century they had ceased to have any organized existence. The Town Meeting House was abandoned and eventually demolished; but the Temple has fortunately been preserved and still exists as a museum under the care of the York Pioneer and Historical Society. This interesting landmark is a unique link with the past, and stands to-day as a curious example of the extravagances which may proceed from a misapplication of the Quaker doctrine of self illumination. In fact one of the most extraordinary features of the whole movement was that its leader and the nucleus of its membership should have first come out from the Society of Friends at all.

While David Willson may have added nothing of permanent value to the religious life of Upper Canada, he undoubtedly did something in his original way to relieve the drabness and monotony of life during those early pioneer days, when the whisky bottle was the easiest and most popular means of escape from the dull round of everyday life, and when there were few legitimate means of recreation and of self expression.

* Scadding, *op. cit.*, p. 499.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BACKGROUND OF THE RELIGIOUS SEPARATION OF 1828 IN AMERICA

The "Hicksite-Orthodox" Controversy.

SINCE the lack of proper historical insight on the part of both branches of Friends which claimed to be *the* Society of Friends was, at least, one important reason for the fatal schism within its ranks in 1828, it may prove useful at this point to give a brief historical retrospect of the main tendencies which are apparent in the development of the Society, between the close of the early, or "apostolic", period of Quakerism and this unfortunate episode of 1828. The works of William C. Braithwaite, and of Rufus M. Jones—the two most distinguished of recent Quaker historians—have placed all who would understand the history of Friends under a very great debt of gratitude for their scholarly, sympathetic, yet discriminating interpretation of this period.

The Society of Friends originated in England during the first half of the seventeenth century as a protest against the deadness and formality of contemporary religion. Mainly for this reason, therefore, early Friends were not interested in the theological or dogmatic side of religion, but in its experimental aspect. That is to say, for them real religion was not so much a system of thought or of authority as it was "a way of life". Quakerism as inaugurated by George Fox was "an attempt to produce a type of Christianity resting upon no authorities external to the human spirit, a Christianity springing entirely out of the soul's experience, verified and verifiable in terms of personal or social life".* The basis of their religious experience was the clear recognition of the indwelling Spirit of Christ as the vitalizing, controlling factor in religion. "It is not" (said William Penn) "opinions, or speculations, or notions of what is true, or assent to, or the subscription of

* R. M. Jones, Introduction, *Later Periods of Quakerism*, vol. i, p. 14.

articles or propositions, though never so soundly worded, that . . . makes a man a true believer or a true Christian. But it is a conformity of mind and practice to the Will of God in all holiness of conversation, according to the dictates of this Divine principle of Light and Life in the soul, which denotes a person truly a child of God.”* This insistence on the inward character of “spiritual religion” gave a mystical tendency to early Quakerism which profoundly influenced its later development and, in an age of rather sordid aims and increasing scepticism, made it one of the most important examples of mystical religion in the eighteenth century.†

During the latter part of the seventeenth century and early part of the eighteenth century the Society of Friends became deeply influenced by Quietism, a type of religious thought and experience to which Quakerism from its fundamental character was peculiarly susceptible. Robert Barclay’s famous *Apology* (first published in Latin, 1676) was without doubt the foremost influence in giving Quakerism its Quietistic tendency. But while there are plain indications of Quietism in the Society of Friends before there are any clear evidences of the direct influence upon it of the great Continental Quietistic writers, such as Madame Guyon (1648-1717), and François Fénelon (1651-1715), this tendency was greatly reinforced by these outside religious influences on the Continent.

Quietism was “a profound religious tendency which in varying forms of expression, swept over the entire western world in the later part of the 17th and early part of the 18th Centuries, flooded into the consciousness of all who were intensely religious, and left an ‘unimaginable touch’ even on the rank and file of believers. It was a deep and widespread movement, confined to no one country, and it was limited to no one branch of the Christian Church. It burst forth in sundered places and spread like a new Pentecost through kindled personalities and through quick and powerful books of genius. Quietism at its height was the most acute and intense stage of European mysticism. It was not a wholly

* William Penn (1644-1718), *A Key*, published in 1692, from *The Works of William Penn*, 1726 edition, vol. ii, p. 781.

† R. M. Jones, *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, see especially his *Conclusions*, chap. xviii.

new type of inward religion. It was rather a result of the normal ripening, the irresistible maturing, of experiences, ideas, and principles that had been profoundly working for a very long period in the religious consciousness of Europe—a fact which partly explains its seemingly spontaneous appearances in a number of widely separated localities. It was an intense and glowing faith in the direct invasion of God into the sphere of human personality—a faith rising in many cases to the level of indubitable experience—but a faith, at the same time, indissolubly bound up with a fundamental conception of man's total depravity and spiritual bankruptcy.”*

Arising from this deep-seated conviction “of man's total depravity and spiritual bankruptcy”, there came the further notion peculiar to Quietism that whatever originated in the reason or will of man was below the sphere of the spiritual and was, therefore, worthless. In other words “all thoughts and impulses that originated in mere man were spiritually barren and unfruitful”.

“The true and essential preparation, therefore, for spiritual ministry or for any action in the truth and life, seemed to the Quietist to be the repose of all one's own powers, the absence of all efforts of self direction, of all strain and striving, the annihilation of all confidence in one's own capacities, the complete quiet of the ‘creature’. Then out of this silence of all flesh, out of this calm of contemplation, in which the mind thinks and desires and wills nothing—this pure repose—divine movings will spontaneously come, the extraordinary grace of openings will be made, an inner burst of revelation will be granted, the sure direction of divine pointings will be given, a spiritual fecundity will be graciously vouchsafed. Passivity and emptiness are thus only conditions of divine moving ; they are only stages on the way to action. And the quietist may become, without any violation of his principle, a person capable of extraordinary activity.”†

Quietism was most completely absorbed and carried out in all its essential features in English and American Quakerism during the period from 1725 to 1825. All the journals of Quaker leaders of this period are saturated with Quietistic ideas, such as the complete annihilation of self-will and of what they termed “creaturely activity”, and an absolute

* R. M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism*, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 34-35.

† *Ibid*, vol. i, p. 36.

distrust of all which originated in the reason and will of man. Most prominent among the many who might be mentioned are John Gough, the Quaker preacher and schoolmaster who was one of the first translators and popularizers among Friends of the Continental Quietists, the Quaker saint—John Woolman; Richard Shackleton—the Irish mystic and lifelong friend of the great Edmund Burke; that “faithful servant and minister of Christ—Job Scott” of Rhode Island;* and Elias Hicks—one of the most powerful preachers of his day and the storm centre of the Great Separation of 1828. All these leaders exhibit in their lives and writings the strong influences of Quietism, with its insistence on the inhibition of all self-direction or self-will, and the principle of direct spiritual inspiration and of the Inner Light as the sole and sufficient basis of religion.

The consequences of this rather extreme type of Quietism were not appreciated, until the influence of another and very different type of religious thought began to exert a strong influence on the Society of Friends in another direction. This new influence is connected with the Evangelical Revival within the Established Church of England which resulted in the rise of Methodism. This great religious awakening in the eighteenth century, under the leadership of Wesley, was of such a distinctive evangelical type that as a result, ever since this time the term “evangelical” has taken on a sharply defined and technical meaning. “It denotes, in this narrow sense, a well marked conception of human nature, a certain definite position towards the Scriptures, an essential body of theological doctrine and an indispensable plan of salvation. It stands in this latter sense, not for a religious attitude or experience, but for the adoption of a definite theological system, belief in which is assumed to be essential to salvation.”† Thus far Quakerism had been mystical rather than evangelical in this narrower use of the term. Inasmuch as

* *Journal of the Life, Travels and Gospel Labours of that Faithful Servant and Minister of Christ, Job Scott.* New York, 1798.

† R. M. Jones, *Introduction, Later Periods of Quakerism, op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 15.

its trend had been toward a religion of experience and inward leading, and away from a religion of "forensic schemes" and theological formulas in which all hope of salvation depended on a fiat of Grace external to man. But just as there were formative leaders in the Society of Friends who were strongly mystical and quietistic, so there came to be those who were strongly imbued with the new, militant, dogmatic type of evangelism, ushered in by the Wesleyan Movement.

One of the first leaders of the evangelical movement among Friends in Great Britain was Mary Dudley, an intimate friend of John Wesley, who did everything in his power to keep her from joining the Society when still a young woman. "There can be no question of the tone and emphasis of this gifted, impassioned woman, nor of her great influence both upon other ministers and upon the rank and file of society. She brought with her into the Society of her adoption a fervour and dynamic quality in every way like that which marked the founders of Methodism, and which characterized the leaders of the revival in the English Church. She struck a new note in Quaker preaching, but she was so deeply imbued with all that was best in the Quaker spirit that her hearers hardly suspected what a change of emphasis marked her glowing messages. She was a gentle revolutionist, transforming people who had no idea they were being transformed."* Another influential minister of this new evangelical school was Rebecca Jones of Philadelphia. "Her intimate fellowship with the leading ministers of her period in Philadelphia especially with Thomas Scattergood, Samuel Emlen, George Dillwyn, John Pemberton and William Savery, is well known, and the influential effect of her positive emphasis upon the evangelical aspects of salvation can hardly be doubted. Rebecca Jones exerted on American Quakerism an influence and power very similar to those which Mary Dudley exerted in England. She was well educated, possessed of decided gifts and, like Mary Dudley, kindled with positive evangelical fervour."†

* R. M. Jones, *Later Periods*, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 278.

† *Ibid*, vol. i, p. 279.

One of the most picturesque figures in eighteenth century Quakerism and a powerful evangelical influence, was Stephen Grellet (1773-1855). The scion of a French noble family, he witnessed the last days of the *Ancien Régime*, and was among the *Emigrés* who fled to America to escape the Revolution. Educated as a Roman Catholic, he had drifted into the prevailing deism and infidelity of the time, but became interested in Friends' views as a result of reading, with the help of a dictionary, William Penn's *No Cross No Crown*. Not long after this he attended a Friends' Meeting at Newtown, Long Island, where in the hush of silent waiting he experienced a change of heart which was soon to send him forth as one of the most powerful and dynamic preachers of his time. He travelled extensively in the ministry both on the North American Continent and in Europe, visiting in the course of his travels, the King of Prussia, the Czar—Alexander of Russia—the Pope, and many other influential persons. He was an ardent advocate of the abolition of slavery, and must be reckoned among the pioneers of that movement. Reacting strongly against the prevailing deism and scepticism of the time, and coming from outside the narrow circle of the Society, he brought into it an emphatically evangelical note, while he was very suspicious of any deviation from what this school of thought regarded as "sound doctrine".*

Another formative leader of Quaker evangelical thought was Thomas Shillitoe (1754-1836). His parents were not Friends, but he became a Friend by "convincement" about the year 1775, when he joined Grace Church Street Monthly Meeting, London. "Called", as he believed in the first instance, to adopt the trade of a shoemaker, he later experienced "a call" to travel in the gospel ministry. He was in many ways a typical itinerant Quaker minister of this period who without any special education or training, nevertheless believed himself "to be divinely called out to be a mouthpiece

* *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of Stephen Grellet*. Edited by Benjamin Seebohm, 2 vols., London, 1860, Philadelphia, 1868.

William Guest, *Stephen Grellet*, Philadelphia, 1903. An appreciative life by one not a Friend.

of the Spirit". Thomas Shillitoe's call to "the awful work" of the ministry was to carry him to far distant lands, entailing in some instances—as in his last religious visit to America in 1826—an absence of three years from his home. He was an ardent reformer, and especially denounced the evils of the liquor traffic and of slavery. He was always very outspoken; but his simplicity and evident sincerity were such that he did not give offense as often as might have been expected. On the occasion of an interview with the President, John Quincy Adams, he did not hesitate to point out in very plain language what he believed to be the outstanding evils of the country. It is said that on another occasion when speaking with his customary plainness to a meeting in New York City, he observed, "that the Devil is so near some of you that I can hear the swish of his tail". While exhibiting in his life and labours the influence of Quietism, his uncompromising insistence on "sound doctrine" made him one of the leaders of the evangelical movement in the Society of Friends.*

This brief notice of some of the typical leaders of Quakerism has been necessary in order to indicate the main trend of religious thought among Friends during the first part of the nineteenth century. It is apparent that, while many Quaker leaders of the orthodox, evangelical school insisted on scriptural authority and on a body of fundamental Christian doctrine, there were others of the extreme Quietistic type who placed the main emphasis on the mystical and experimental side of religion with a tendency, therefore, to depreciate the supreme authority of Scripture, or any indispensable plan of salvation outside the experience of the Light of Christ in the soul. The result was that leaders of the orthodox, evangelical type, like Stephen Grellet, Thomas Shillitoe, and David Sands, began to regard many of their Quietistic brethren as doctrinally unsound, and to associate their views with the prevailing deism and infidelity of the times. On the other hand, leaders

* *Journal of Thomas Shillitoe*, edited by A. R. Barclay, 2 vols, London, 1839.

William Tallack, *Thomas Shillitoe, the Quaker Missionary and Temperance Pioneer*, London, 1867.

of the Quietistic school like Elias Hicks, John Comly, and Hugh Judge, regarded the evangelical emphasis on sound doctrine as mere "theological notions", the result of men's reason rather than of Divine illumination and leading, and, therefore, out of accord with the traditional position of Quakerism.

In this growing divergence of opinion within the Society, there was obviously trouble ahead. The history of religious controversy would seem to show, however, that the further men get away from the demonstrable or from the realm of experience, into these realms of religion where there must necessarily be the greatest latitude for divergence of opinion, the more dogmatic and narrow they become; and, moreover, that there is nothing so fatal to real religious unity as theological discussion and debate.

While Elias Hicks was the storm centre of the Separation of 1828 in America, it should be clearly understood at the outset, "that the branch of Friends bearing his name has never formally accepted his doctrine and many members hold very different views".* His supporters had, therefore, no common doctrinal basis; but claimed to stand for the traditional freedom of Quakerism—on the one hand—from autocracy in church discipline, and—on the other—from external authority in religion. They neither formally rejected nor accepted the doctrines of Elias Hicks, which was for them a personal matter, and not one on which a few, officious members of the Society could dictate to the rest of the membership. For this reason some afterwards claimed that the real cause of the Separation of 1828 was a personal attack on Elias Hicks by the Philadelphia elders and by certain English Friends then travelling in America, and that it was not doctrinal at all.† This is, however, a superficial view; for already, as we have seen, the real issue went much deeper.

* Allen C. Thomas, *History of Friends in America*, 4th edition, Philadelphia, 1905, p. 123.

† See S. P. Gardiner's *Memoirs*, Philadelphia, 1895. *Letter to J. E. Smith*, pp. 283-287. S. P. Gardiner claims "that the unpleasantness which resulted in Separation in 1827-1828 did not originate because of alleged unsoundness of doctrine, but from wholly another source." He goes on to speak of the activities of English Friends as "foreign interference," and makes then largely responsible for the attack on Elias Hicks.

Elias Hicks of Long Island was an outstanding preacher of the prophetic type. Walt Whitman has given a very interesting characterization of Elias Hicks as a preacher and religious leader. "The basic foundation of Elias was undoubtedly genuine religious fervour. He was like an old Hebrew prophet. He had the spirit of one, and in his later years he looked like one."* While a great moral teacher with a passion for righteousness, he was strongly imbued with Quietism, and insisted on "a type of religion which began and ended in an inward spiritual process" rather than upon a system of external authority. He was largely self educated, but appears to have read quite widely. Like most preachers of the Quietistic school, he was not a constructive or logical thinker, in the sense of controlling or organizing the thinking of other people. The peculiar views that he held on the nature of Christ and his theories about the Scripture were "merely personal and capricious opinions" which "were not the result of sound exegesis" nor of constructive reasoning, and were not generally held by his followers. "He is often thought of as a leader of 'Unitarianism', and it is frequently assumed uncritically that he held 'modern' views about Christ and Scripture and man . . . but he is distinctly not 'modern'. He is all the time hampered and bound by the inadequate conceptions and the religious phraseology of the deistic controversy. He is an honest soul and a good fighter, but he is always compelled to use poor weapons."† While a certain type of liberal thought in the Society undoubtedly rallied later on to the support of Hicks, he himself could hardly at any time be called a "liberal". In many things we discover that he was extremely conservative; such as in his opposition to railways, to the public school system, and to the observance of Thanksgiving Day as a national holiday.‡ In short, as an unprejudiced writer has observed, "He was a simple, humble-minded, earnest Quaker of the old school."§ Though he frequently

* *The Complete Works of Walt Whitman*, 1902, vol. iii, pp. 269-270.
H. W. Wilbur, *Life and Letters of Elias Hicks*, Philadelphia, 1910.

† R. M. Jones, *Later Periods*, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 443-444.

‡ H. W. Wilbur, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-102.

§ F. S. Turner, *The Quakers*, London, 1889, p. 292.

denounced the infidelity and the deistical philosophy of the age, his opponents accused him of being tainted with these very views.* But their persistent misrepresentation of Elias Hicks was due to mental obsession, and not to moral obliquity as we, from our vantage of nearly one hundred years, are able better to understand.

Elias Hicks was very active in the itinerant ministry, in the pursuit of which calling he visited almost every quarter of American Quakerism, including, in 1803, Upper Canada. It was not till about five years after Elias Hicks' religious visit to Upper Canada that Stephen Grellet—already mentioned above as one of the outstanding evangelical influences in the Society of Friends—began to experience uneasiness regarding Elias Hicks' doctrinal soundness, especially his tendency, as Stephen Grellet believed, "to lessen the authority of the Holy Scriptures and to undervalue the sacred office of our Holy and Blessed Redeemer".† There is, however, no conclusive evidence to show that there was any material change in the teaching of Elias Hicks during this period of his ministry, or in fact throughout his entire ministry.‡ But there is plenty of evidence to show, that there was an increasing determination on the part of those who belonged to the Evangelical School to insist on a clearer formulation of fundamental belief, and to discipline "unsound doctrine".

English Friends had a great deal to do with the trouble in America. During the decade before the Separation (1818-1828) an unusually large number of evangelical ministers from England visited the American meetings, among these being George Withy, William Forster, Isaac Stephenson, Elizabeth Robson, George and Ann Jones, Anna Braithwaite, and Thomas Shillitoe. The activities of these Friends in the interests of a clearer formulation of fundamental doctrine, though acceptable to many, were not always well received in

* H. W. Wilbur, *op. cit.*, p. 117. See also, *ibid.*, chap. xviii, *Controversy with Anna Braithwaite*.

† Hodgson, *Life of Stephen Grellet*, p. 142. W. Guest, *Stephen Grellet*, pp. 73-74.

‡ H. W. Wilbur, *op. cit.*, p. 122. F. S. Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

America. A case in point was the revival by William Forster of a plan which had originated in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1805 to introduce a Uniform Discipline for all the American Yearly Meetings. This scheme had been opposed by Elias Hicks, and was eventually shelved by some of the Eastern Yearly Meetings. In spite of this fact William Forster was most insistent in an attempt to revive the project again in Ohio Yearly Meeting.* Final action in the matter was again deferred, many opposing it on the grounds that the whole scheme had too much the element of coercion, and was contrary to the freedom invested in each individual Yearly Meeting. William Forster was also very strong in his denunciation of the doctrines of Elias Hicks, and openly expressed his conviction—two years before the event—“that a Separation must and will take place in the Society in America”.† One must admit in the case of this Friend a marked tendency to fulfill his own prophecy! The plain speaking of several of these English Friends, and their assumption of a certain authority in the American Meetings was resented by many as an attempt to coerce Friends in America—or, at least, to subordinate them to the religious thought and discipline of the Mother Yearly Meeting in England. Evidently there still existed a certain sensitiveness on the question of American Independence.‡

The supporters of Elias Hicks claim that the real cause of the organized opposition to him was his opposition to the scheme of a Uniform Discipline—supported by English Friends and by Philadelphia Meeting of Sufferings—and his

* Janney, *History of Friends*, Philadelphia, 1867, vol. iv, p. 176.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 178.

‡ *Vide*, S. P. Gardiner, *Memoirs*, Philadelphia, 1895, pp. 283-287. He was in attendance at the time of the Separation in New York Yearly Meeting in 1828, and very much resented the action of Thomas Shillitoe as “a palpable case of foreign interference.” “Being present, it seemed to me that London Yearly Meeting assumed authority as manifested by their numerous ministers here at that time, to endeavour to exercise a power over the Yearly Meetings in America in religious matters, similar to that exercised by the English Government politically toward the colonies, which they could not bear, and hence the revolution; the coincidence was clearly seen.”—*Ibid.*, p. 285. *Vide*, Isaac T. Hopper, *Preface to American Edition of Truth Vindicated*, New York, 1836, pp. x, xi.

stern rebuke uttered in 1819 against those who used the products of slave labour, which gave serious offense especially to one influential member of Philadelphia Meeting.* At any rate it was from this quarter in 1822 that the first organized opposition to Elias Hicks came, when ten elders of Philadelphia Meeting drew up a statement in which he was formally charged with "holding and promulgating doctrines different from and repugnant to those held by our religious Society".† As a matter of discipline, the Philadelphia Elders were quite beyond their legitimate powers in trying to deal with Elias Hicks in this matter; since he held at the time a minute from New York Yearly Meeting of which he was a member, and to which he was solely responsible.

But the difficulty soon passed beyond a dispute between Elias Hicks and the Philadelphia Elders. It became an issue involving the faith and discipline of the whole Society, and inviting the taking of sides as opinion, temperament, or purely fortuitous circumstances might dictate. Each side organized its resistance, and in this respect "Orthodox" leaders like Jonathan Evans, or Thomas Shillitoe, on one hand, and "Hicksite" leaders like John Comly, or Thomas Wetherald, on the other, were more responsible for the actual separation than Elias Hicks.‡

While the Orthodox party were determined to make doctrinal soundness the one central issue, § the Hicksite party

* "Cockburn's Review, Philadelphia, 1829, page 60. H. W. Wilbur, *op. cit.*, p. 126. S. P. Gardiner, *Memoirs*, Philadelphia, 1895, pp. 187, 283-287.

† H. W. Wilbur, *op. cit.*, page 130. The full text of the letter is given here.

‡ *Vide*, John Comly's *Journal*, p. 309. It appears that during the early spring of 1827, John Comly actively promoted separation, and laid careful plans for the anticipated break in the approaching Yearly Meeting. See also A. C. Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135.

§ *Vide*, A Statement of Belief issued by Philadelphia Meeting in 1823, entitled, *Extract from the Writings of Primitive Friends Concerning the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*. This statement is given in full in Wilbur, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-143, who remarks that "this deliverance was almost as theological and dogmatic as the Westminster Confession of Faith": and he further points out that while it was supposed to rest on the evidence of Primitive Friends, it contains only one quotation—and that a garbled one—from Barclay's *Apology*.

insisted that Quaker tradition had never emphasized doctrinal uniformity or external authority in religion, but that the real issue was the attempt on the part of a small but influential group of English and American Friends to subvert the democratic discipline of the Society, and to limit religious freedom of thought. But these failed on their side to appreciate how deeply the Orthodox party felt the importance of emphasizing the divine nature of Christ, and the supreme authority of the Scripture as the sheet-anchors of religion against the waves of religious infidelity and free thought which were running high at this time. On the other side, the Orthodox party failed to realize how provocative was their assumption of infallibility in the face of the new liberal tendencies of the age; and how unwise was their determination "to hew to the line" of Orthodox faith, regardless of where the chips might fall. On both sides there was a conspicuous lack of love, and a complete misunderstanding of the real genius of Primitive Quakerism of which they both claimed to be the true exponents. The tragedy was that while both sides claimed to represent Primitive Quakerism, and quoted the early writings of Friends at great length to prove their traditional soundness,* both sides lacked either the historical perspective to appreciate the forces which had been at work in the Society since the apostolic age of Quakerism, or the insight to see that fundamentally their positions—when stripped of their theological wrappings—were not so opposite after all that they could not be reconciled. For Primitive Quakerism had always been evangelical in the broadest sense of the word—namely, of possessing a dynamic faith which had power to save men and to lift them up to a new plane of living—and, at the same time, it had always insisted on the inward and spiritual character of true religion. Here was a great common possession of truth not resting upon mere opinion, but "verified and verifiable", which was broad enough to have included all who called themselves Friends. But lacking the historical insight, the vision, and

* A good example of this is, William Gibbons, *A Review and Refutation, etc.*, Philadelphia, 1847.

greatest of all, charity, a disastrous schism in 1828 divided the Society of Friends in America into two groups—the so-called “Orthodox” and “Hicksite” branches of Friends—each claiming to be *the* Society of Friends, and each stigmatizing their opponents as “Separatists”.

The various steps by which the Separation was finally brought about, first in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and subsequently in four other Yearly Meetings need not be related here.* Neither need we go into the disputes over the division of property and the lawsuits which ensued “mostly begun by the Orthodox”.† Indeed many incidents are better relegated to the kindly oblivion of various obscure volumes which, and it is just as well, no one troubles to read to-day, except the historian and the antiquarian.

Before concluding our survey of the Great Separation of 1828 in America, it might be pointed out, however, that while—with the exception of Indiana and Ohio—“the Hicksites had a strong majority in each of the five Yearly Meetings where a separation occurred”; nevertheless, taking the Society as a whole, the Hicksites were in a decided minority. Moreover, in no instance did a Yearly Meeting as a whole go over to the Hicksite side; while in the three Yearly Meetings of New England, Virginia, and South Carolina, no separation occurred at all. Another fact worth noting is that in several meetings the great majority of what might be called “the official class”—namely, ministers and elders—adhered to the Orthodox side.‡ This was also substantially true of Dublin

* The Hicksite side is presented in detail in Janney's *History of Friends*, vol. iv. The Orthodox side, in Hodgson's *The Society of Friends in the 19th Century*, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1876. Foster's *Report of the Testimony in a Cause at Issue in the Court of Chancery*, etc., 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1831, gives the best opportunity to form an unbiased judgment, as it chiefly consists of legal evidence given by parties from both sides relative to the causes of the Separation. Other useful accounts are: Edward Grubb's *Separation*, London, 1914; A. C. Thomas, *History of Friends in America*, chap. iv; R. M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism*, vol. ii, chap. xii.

† A. C. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 141. Thomas Speakman's *Divisions in the Society of Friends*, Philadelphia, 1867. In chap. iv, he attacks the Orthodox position relative to their claim to own all the property.

‡ R. M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, vol. i, p. 473.

and of London Yearly Meetings which both declared in favour of the Orthodox Friends in America.

These labels "Orthodox" and "Hicksite" have unfortunately persisted down to the present day. They are really pitiable remnants of a theological controversy which is now as dead as the proverbial door nail; and they were never applied to Friends in Great Britain, but are peculiar to American Quakerism. In the main British Quakerism has shown a broader and more inclusive spirit; and though there were many who sympathized with the general position of the supporters of Elias Hicks, there was no separation in Britain at this time. Ever since the first doctrinal Epistle of 1823, however, London Yearly Meeting has been pronouncedly evangelical.* With Orthodox opinion in the ascendancy, therefore, in both London and Dublin Yearly Meetings, the official recognition by these two influential bodies of the Orthodox group in America as *the* Society of Friends, was regarded by the latter as a great moral victory over the Hicksite party, though it made the possibility of reconciliation later substantially more difficult.

* Edward Grubb, *The Evangelical Movement and its Impact on the Society of Friends*, London, 1924.

CHAPTER IX

THE SEPARATION OF 1828 IN CANADA

SINCE the Society of Friends in Canada was an integral part of New York Yearly Meeting in 1828, it is not surprising that the Orthodox-Hicksite controversy in the American Yearly Meetings should have spread to Upper Canada. It is quite possible, however, that if this official connection with one of the principal centres of the controversy had not existed, no separation would have taken place at all in Canada. As a matter of fact, the Canadian records do not indicate any real divergence of opinion on religious matters until the years immediately preceding the Separation in the American Yearly Meetings. Moreover, while certain factors had been at work within the Society for some time, silently and almost imperceptibly modifying its religious outlook in the direction of evangelical belief, these modifications, in all probability, would have gradually leavened the whole religious thought of the Society, without producing a serious divergence of opinion or an actual schism; that is to say, if sufficient time had been allowed, and if religious partisans from America, and especially from England, had not hastened a crisis of decision in 1828, first in New York Yearly Meeting and then in the Canadian Meetings.

Previous to this time the Society of Friends in Canada had conformed to the traditional standards of eighteenth century Quakerism with its distinctive Quietistic and mystical features to which reference has already been made. The best evidence that at the beginning of the nineteenth century Friends in Canada were as yet largely untouched by the new evangelical thought, and that Canadian Quakerism was still of a traditional type, may be found in the religious visits to Upper Canada of two ministers who afterwards became leaders in the lamentable controversy of 1828—the one being Hugh Judge, and the other none else than Elias Hicks himself. The reception accorded to these two ministers during

their sojourn in Canada is incontestable proof that at this time there was not the slightest indication of religious disunion or disapproval of their religious teaching.

Hugh Judge's *Journal* gives an interesting picture of religious life in the Society at this time, and it likewise serves to illustrate the type of religious exercise in which he was engaged during his sojourn in Upper Canada (1799-1800). The *Journal* also shows that while for the sake of historical convenience we may characterize the Quakerism of Hugh Judge as being of the "traditional type", it still evidenced something of the dynamic quality of the apostolic age of the Society.*

"On First Day, the fifteenth, we were again at the Meeting House (in Adolphustown) a season of much favour in which doctrine flowed freely to the praise of the Helper of his people. In the afternoon we visited several families, some of which were precious opportunities. Next day after a tendering season in the family of David Barker and another visit to a member, we crossed the Bay of Canty (Quinte) on the ice and rode to West Lake. On the Third Day—the seventeenth—had a large meeting in the neighbourhood in which many were broken in tenderness. . . . Next day we returned to West Lake to a meeting appointed at two o'clock, to which came a much larger number of people than to the first we had there. One man of Baptist persuasion was so reached that when I took my leave of him at the meeting, the tears rolled from his eyes as fast as one could follow another. These meetings have all been precious seasons; the Lord's truth and power reigned over all and great strength and clearness were given to labour in work and doctrine. Glory to his most excellent name forever; it is his own works that praise him."†

* Hugh Judge, *Memoirs and Journal*, Philadelphia, 1841. The date of the birth of Hugh Judge is unknown. (circa 1750). He died in 1834. His parents were Irish, Roman Catholic emigrants who had settled in Philadelphia. Owing to the death of his father while Hugh Judge was still in his teens, he had little opportunity for education and had to work very hard, "rising before daylight to thresh out twenty-four sheaves of wheat" and do his chores before going to school. He joined Friends while still a young man and eventually was recognized as a minister in the Society. He was a devoted friend and admirer of Elias Hicks; and, as a matter of fact, the last letter ever penned by Elias Hicks was to his life-long friend, Hugh Judge. He was a warm-hearted, impressionable man, possessing a quick sensibility for the difficulties and suffering of others.

† Hugh Judge, *Memoirs and Journal*, pp. 265-266.

In a later passage of his *Journal*, Hugh Judge gives a summary of the main themes of his discourses while in Canada, which throws considerable light on the character of his ministry:

"Being about to leave these parts, on a review of my public labours among the people, I have often been led to enlarge on the doctrine of Baptism, and to show the wide difference between that of John which was outward and elementary, and that of Christ, which is spiritual and saving; that John's ministry as he was the forerunner of Christ, was only preparatory, and that he stood as with the forefinger pointing to Christ and directing those whom he baptized to the Lord Jesus to be baptized of him, as the great fulfiller of the law and the prophets, the antitype, in whom all the shadows and figures do end;—and that now under the glorious gospel of dispensation and sonship, there was no more need of the outward form and outward water. For Paul justly observed, that the kingdom of heaven stands not in meats and drinks and divers washings and carnal ordinances. But in righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, I have also often been largely opened to set forth the gospel state; which is a pure state, inwardly felt and experienced, as true obedience is yielded to the gift of Divine grace manifested in man, which puts an end to sin and brings in everlasting righteousness. Many times, in treating upon these things, my mind has likewise been livingly opened to set forth the true spiritual worship, which stands in the true and perfect obedience; keeping to an inward watchfulness and exercise in the pure measures received of God, and out of all and everything that is of self and self workings. Here many times, the true church and true worship were exalted over and above the false church and false worship; and the testimony of Truth was held up to the people against priestcraft, hireling ministry, wars and fightings and oaths and swearing. The views of Friends on these subjects, and their reasons for refusing to join in with them, were advanced, and the power of Truth often rose high with clearness and Divine authority. And although meetings have frequently held from two and a half to three hours, the people continued in great stillness and attention. Let all of the praise be given to the Lord Most High, who is forever worthy. Amen."*

The clear insistence of Hugh Judge on the inward and spiritual character of true religion, his typical Quietistic

* *Ibid*, pp. 273-274.

warning against "all and everything that is of self and self working", his emphasis on the distinctive Quaker testimonies regarding baptism, war, oaths, and a free ministry, are all quite in accord with traditional Quakerism; and though the Evangelical might miss here any emphasis on scriptural and doctrinal ideas presumably more important, there is no evidence that any such lack was felt at this time.

In 1803 Elias Hicks made a religious visit to Upper Canada, attending most of the meetings within the limits of Adolphustown Monthly Meeting, and holding in the Court House at Kingston, the first Friends' Meeting ever held in that place. There is nothing in the records of the meetings which he visited at this time, or elsewhere, to indicate the slightest hostility to his preaching. On the contrary, Elias Hicks mentions in his journal, the love and unity that was manifest particularly at his farewell meeting in Adolphustown. In this connection he narrates:—"This closed our visit in these parts and we took leave of our friends in much brotherly affection; their hearts were contrited, and their cheeks bedewed with tears when we closed our farewell address. After this we rode directly to Kingston and there took boat immediately."*

Mention might also be made of the religious visit to Upper Canada of Edward Hicks—a relative of Elias and a recorded minister of Middletown Monthly Meeting, Bucks Co., Penna. Although he was less outspoken than his kinsman, and was reputed to be more orthodox, he was, nevertheless, one of the most ardent friends and defenders of Elias Hicks.† Edward Hicks visited several meetings in the vicinity of Yonge Street in 1819. One service was held by him in a Methodist Meeting House and was largely attended by those of this sect. Edward Hicks seems to have felt that the meeting was profitable, but he was somewhat disturbed by the groanings and halleluiahs of some of his auditors:

* Elias Hicks, *Journal*, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-110.

† *Memoirs of the Life and Religious Labours of Edward Hicks*, Philadelphia, 1851. This contains an interesting—and on the whole judicial—estimate of Elias Hicks and of the causes of the Separation of 1828. See p. 92, *et. seq.*

"I tried to persuade them, for my sake, to try to be still, and let their groanings be like those the apostles spoke of—too big to be uttered" . . . "I was led to speak of the rights of women—that they were one in Christ with men, and entitled to equal privileges, and that I had heard the Gospel preached by them in greater sweetness and power than I had ever heard from the lips of men. There was a precious silence covered the meeting, which seemed only interrupted by the suppressed weeping of some of the women. After the meeting ended, our kind Methodist friend took me by the hand and said in substance, "Dear brother, you ought to preach that sermon a dozen times over. Why, we have been contending with our women about their right to preach."*

Further on in his journal Edward Hicks gives a brief summary of his religious labours in Canada which might serve to illustrate the general character of his ministry:

"We had a number of meetings in Canada, and all I can say of them is, that when I was stript of my own covering, and clothed with the covering of the Holy Spirit, or when like the apostle, I knew nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified, I preached the Gospel, and the people were edified or comforted. But whenever I put on an old patched garment, part of which was borrowed and strutted into meeting with my second-hand finery, or knew so many pretty texts of Scripture by heart, as not to want to know Christ to be the resurrection and the life, my preaching was vain and the people's belief in it was vain, and like priest, like people, all remained in sin agreeably to Paul's doctrine, 'Except Christ be risen, our preaching is vain, and your faith is vain, and you are yet in your sins.'"[†]

In view of the later importance of Elias Hicks and of his friend Hugh Judge in the Separation of 1828, it is significant that during their ministry in Canada, there is not the slightest evidence of disagreement with any of their religious views which, so far as we can ascertain, simply represented traditional eighteenth century Quakerism with its characteristically mystical and Quietistic approach to religion. The same was substantially true of Edward Hicks.

During the following decade, however, certain influences were at work within the Society of Friends both in England and America which were to modify profoundly eighteenth

* Edward Hicks, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78.

† *Ibid*, pp. 78-79.

century Quakerism of the traditional type. As we have already seen, the most significant of these influences were, the spread of rationalistic thought and of deistical philosophy, and at the same time the increasing determination of the evangelical school to offset these influences by insisting on a clearer formulation of fundamental Christian belief, and by disciplining those of unsound doctrine. We shall now consider the operation of some of these influences in Canada, and the resultant cleavage between a traditional and somewhat static form of Quakerism, and the more dynamic type produced by the evangelical movement.

The spread of Methodism in Canada must be reckoned as among the most important evangelical influences in the country. For while, as we have seen, Quakerism had long passed its first age of apostolic fervour, and was just emerging from the period of Quietism, Methodism was beginning the most creative and dynamic period of its history. The first apostolic glow of religious enthusiasm had not yet had time to fade or to become traditional, for when Methodism obtained its first foothold in Canada about 1790, its great founder John Wesley was still alive. The early history of Methodism and of Quakerism in Canada exhibit many interesting parallelisms. Both sects secured a footing in Upper Canada about the same time in the Niagara and Adolphustown districts. In 1790, for example, the first Methodist class meeting in Upper Canada was organized by George Neale, an itinerant preacher on the Niagara circuit. This was in Stamford Township, the next township but one to Bertie, where the Society of Friends just a little earlier had organized their first meeting for worship in this district.* In 1792 under the direction of William Losee, the first itinerant preacher on the Kingston circuit, the earliest Methodist Chapel in Upper Canada was erected in Adolphustown on the farm of Peter Huff,† while not far from here on John Dorland's farm was built a few years later the first Quaker Meeting House in this part of Eastern Canada. Both

* *Ibid.*, Playter, p. 30.

† G. F. Playter *History of Methodism in Canada*, Toronto, 1862, vol. i, p. 20.

sects at this time lacked the official standing accorded to the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches in Canada. Both sects spread from the United States to Canada, and for a considerable time were closely connected with religious organizations and opinion in the Republic; both employed itinerant ministers; both enforced a strict discipline upon their members, with regard to amusements, plainness of dress,* and marriage—such as “marrying out” in the Quaker idiom, and marrying “unawakened” (*i.e.* unconverted) persons in the early Methodist idiom. Both sects placed special emphasis on the personal character of religion. For example, the Methodists talked about “the Witness of the Spirit” in which there was much in common with the Quaker doctrine of “the Inner Light”. There were other similarities as well, but all of these—while superficial in some respects—at least help to explain the great influence which Methodism has exerted over the Society of Friends in Canada.

The evangelist and the camp meeting were also powerful factors in spreading the borders of Methodist teaching and influence throughout Upper Canada. In vain did the more conservative elements in the Society of Friends attempt to withstand the attraction of these outside influences as represented by Evangelical Methodism. But the time came, as we shall see later on, when Canadian Quakerism was to adopt many things peculiar to this type of evangelical religion, including many of its methods of evangelistic propaganda. In this lay the seeds of another sad separation within the Society in 1881. But we are now somewhat ahead of our story. Our conclusion is, however, that of all the forces outside the Society of Friends which have influenced the religious life and thought of Canadian Quakerism, the most important has probably been evangelical Methodism.

* An interesting example of this is given in Playter, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 20 : John Roblin, of Hay Bay, Adolphustown, having been converted through the ministration of the local Methodist minister—William Losee—“went to his room and returned with his frilled shirt, saying to his mother and in the presence of his family, ‘Mother, as soon as you can, take these frills from my shirt. I shall never wear such no more. Oh ! Mother, the Lord has converted my soul this morning.’”

The necessity of insisting on certain standards of belief in order to offset the loose religious thinking of the time, was probably impressed on Canadian Friends as a result of the first separation of 1812 led by David Willson. We have already noted some of the peculiarities of the "Children of Peace" with the curious mixture of Quaker mysticism and Jewish ceremonialism, revealing a woeful misunderstanding of the historic development of Christianity. It was evident that the freedom from any religious standards or disciplinary restraints which David Willson stressed as one of the chief merits of his new sect, exposed the discipline and religious life of the Society to serious dangers. As a matter of fact, David Willson was not disowned—at least technically—because of unsound doctrine; but because of his infraction of discipline, "in not rising from his seat when a Friend appeared in supplication", and "for setting up a meeting for worship without the proper authorization". David Willson's religious ideas were altogether so confused and hazy that in any case it would have been very difficult to pin him down as unsound on any single point. In effect he stood for religious free thought at a time when "free thinking" was very prevalent. The confusion of "free thought" with the doctrines of Elias Hicks in the minds of many, is probably the explanation for the quite misleading but persistent tradition which arose later that David Willson had been a Hicksite Friend.* This was, however, quite wide of the truth since the Hicksite Separation did not occur till about sixteen years after his disownment.

Probably it was more than a coincidence that in the year of the Davidite Separation, there also appears in the records of the Society the first clear instance of the disownment of a Friend for a departure from Orthodox standards of belief. This was the case of William Reid, of Queen Street, who, it was alleged, "denied the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by declaring his belief that he was no more than the apostle Paul or any other inspired man." When William Reid was approached by a disciplinary committee of Yonge

* Scadding, *Toronto of Old*, p. 486. *History of the County of York*, vol. i, p. 174.

Street Monthly Meeting, he would not admit that his expressions had actually denied the Divinity of our Lord. The committee were not inclined, however, to give him the benefit of the doubt; but further alleged that "he lightly esteems the Scriptures, and expressed a disbelief of some passages of Scripture". As he appeared in no way willing to acknowledge his error, his Monthly Meeting decided to disown him. Though William Reid appealed against the decision of the Monthly Meeting, its judgment regarding his disownment* was sustained by Canada Half Year's Meeting. In the following year Yonge Street Monthly Meeting had occasion to deal with a similar case when Ephraim Dunham—it was alleged—had expressed "a light esteem of Jesus Christ by saying he was of the house and line of David", and had questioned the Virgin birth.† Since these two incidents, so far as appears, stand absolutely by themselves, the alleged opinions of these two individuals were not generally held among Friends. Nevertheless, these two isolated instances may be regarded as straws that showed which way currents of thought were moving, and what the official reaction of the Society was likely to be in cases of this kind.

An important influence within the Society of Friends which helped to mould Quaker thought after the pattern of evangelical doctrine, was a widely read book by Henry Tuke, entitled, *The Principles of Religion as professed by the Society of Christians usually called Quakers*. (First published in London in 1805.) This book, which went through twelve English editions, was reprinted by many of the American Yearly Meetings. It was recognized as a standard interpretation of Quakerism, and had a wide circle of readers within the Society. While professedly an exposition of Quaker belief, the book "is obviously written in a time of storm and controversy, and it aims to defend the faith at points where attack has been made, and it, therefore, leans strongly in the direction of Orthodoxy. Tuke honestly believed that his position was

* *Minutes of Young Street Monthly Meeting*, 16/7/1812.

Minutes of Canada Half Year's Meeting, held at Yonge St., 1/9/1813.

† *Minutes of Yonge Street Monthly Meeting*, 18/3/1813.

point for point the position of the first group of Friends. He can show, he thinks, voluminous passages from their writings to prove that he now holds 'the faith once delivered'. The fact is, however, that the point of emphasis has entirely altered in Tuke's books, and the whole perspective has changed from that of the seventeenth century. Tuke believes, no doubt, in the inner work of the Spirit, but he is really writing his book to stem a tide of thought which seems to him unorthodox, and he consequently raises evangelical doctrines into unprecedented prominence. He is endeavouring to eliminate unsoundness and this colours all his work."* In this connection, therefore, it is interesting to note that, in 1818, the Meeting for Sufferings of New York Yearly Meeting recommended to Canada Half Year's Meeting, "a very valuable book by Henry Tuke on the Principles of Religion as Professed by Friends". As the price of the book half bound was to be only twenty-five cents, New York Yearly Meeting was evidently supplying this book at far less than actual cost in the interests of evangelical doctrine among its membership. It is difficult to estimate the actual influence of Tuke's *Principles* upon religious thought among Friends in Canada, but that it was considerable is suggested by the presence of this now antiquated volume in loft or attic of many a Quaker homestead, or in the library of many an old meeting house even at the present day.†

* R. M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism*, vol. i, pp. 285-286.

† The following titles of books or pamphlets, all by Henry Tuke, are given in a list of books placed in the library of West Lake Monthly Meeting in 1829 :

- "1 *Tuke's Works*, 4 vols.
- 1 Henry Tuke's *Principles of Religion*.
- 1 Henry Tuke's *Duties of Religion*.
- 1 *Hugh Turford*, by Henry Tuke.
- 1 *Duties of Religion and Morality*, by H. Tuke.
- 29 *Passages from the Holy Scriptures*, by H. Tuke.
- 1 *Faith*, by Henry Tuke."

There were altogether some 120 titles given in this list, including "2 French Bibles and 14 other French books." In addition there were five English Bibles which were on loan. The rule was that Bibles might be kept out on loan for three months, George Fox's *Journal* for three months and all other books for one month. John Cooper and Peter Leavens were given charge of the West Lake Library at this time.

But ever more potent than the written word is a living personality aflame with a mission. And thus the itinerant ministers who travelled throughout the United States and Canada during the decade prior to 1828, must be reckoned among the most important factors in spreading evangelical doctrine throughout the Society, and in modifying in many important ways the temperament and perspective of traditional eighteenth century Quakerism.

One of the first of these apostles of evangelical orthodoxy was an English Friend, George Withy, who attended Canada Half Year's Meeting held at Yonge Street in August, 1821. In the following year Stephen Grellet from New York Yearly Meeting was present at Canada Half Year's Meeting held at Yonge Street in August, 1822. Stephen Grellet, it will be recalled, was one of the most prominent evangelical preachers in the Society of Friends, who since 1808 had exhibited an increasing uneasiness regarding the doctrinal soundness of Elias Hicks and of others representing the traditional Quietistic type of Quakerism. The messages of Stephen Grellet, as far as we can judge from the official records, were well received by his Canadian audiences, as the minute recording his presence at this time states "that his company and gospel labours amongst us were truly acceptable". This was, however, a more or less formal type of acknowledgment and so does not give us any real clue to the feeling in the meetings which he addressed. In 1823 William Forster, a prominent evangelical minister from England, visited Canada Half Year's Meeting; and in the following year the same meeting was attended by Isaac Stephenson, also from England, who further visited some meetings in Canada West and was present at Norwich Monthly Meeting in the Ninth Month, 1824. In 1824 Elizabeth Robson, another English minister of pronounced evangelical views, who had been travelling in the United States, came on a religious visit to Upper Canada. She attended West Lake Monthly Meeting in Fifth Month, 1824, while the minutes of this meeting further state that "she attended most of the meetings belonging thereto and also has visited part of the families of this Monthly Meeting, whose labours of gospel

love was truly acceptable". In the following year, January, 1825, Elizabeth Robson visited Norwich Monthly Meeting; but before returning to the United States she addressed a special epistle to Canada Half Year's Meeting—a not unprecedented but at the same time rather unusual thing to have done. While the minutes of the Half Year's Meeting refer to "the interesting contents of this epistle", unfortunately no hint is given as to its actual terms, though the minutes record it as being "truly acceptable", and "it is directed down to the different Monthly Meetings".* The official endorsation of the epistle by the Half Year's Meeting does not necessarily indicate an unanimous opinion regarding it; and with some knowledge of Elizabeth Robson's religious activities in the American meetings and of her close association with Ann Jones, it is safe to say that "the interesting contents" of the letter had reference to the new emphasis on orthodox doctrine and were of a controversial character.†

In 1826 and 1827 Thomas Shillitoe, a minister from London Yearly Meeting, attended nearly all the more important meetings within the limits of Canada Half Year's Meeting. Before coming to Canada he had visited a number of meetings in the Eastern States. But from the time of his arrival in America he had made it quite clear that his sympathies were all with the so-called orthodox party and in opposition to the followers of Elias Hicks and to what he called—in unequivocal language—"their unchristian cause".‡ Since he had made up his mind in advance, nothing he saw in the United States or in Canada modified his original view; but rather confirmed his opinion that a religious crisis was impending, so immediate and so fundamental in its issues that no possibility of compromise or concession existed. Before his religious visit to Canada closed, a definite cleavage between two groups of

* *Minutes of Canada Half Year's Meeting*, held at West Lake, 2/2/1825. At *West Lake Monthly Meeting*, 17/2/1825, Elizabeth Robson's epistle was read and was directed down to the Preparative Meetings. It was also read at *Norwich Monthly Meeting*, 9/3/1825.

† See, Janney, *History of Friends*, Philadelphia, 1867, vol. iv, pp. 247, 251.

‡ *Journal of Thomas Shillitoe*, 2 vols., London, 1839, p. 151.

religious opinion had become clearly manifest, and to this final result Thomas Shillitoe made an important contribution.

Thomas Shillitoe entered Canada at Lewiston, late in the year 1826, and, after going first to Daniel Pound's home at Black Creek, he visited a number of meetings in the Niagara District. At the first public meeting in Canada that he attended, Thomas Shillitoe "opened his religious concern" regarding what he believed to be the prevailing religious unsoundness within the society:

"I had hard things to deliver in this meeting, yet I felt comfortable under the renewed assurance, that Divine mercy is still following the gainsayers amongst us, in order to bring them back again from that state of captivity to outward ease, indifference, and a life of indulgence to the creature which many amongst us are giving proof in various ways, that they have sunk into,—sitting down fat and full, and kicking at those Divine reproofs which continue in mercy to follow them."*

Owing to the depth of snow, Thomas Shillitoe was compelled to abandon at this point the wagon in which he had journeyed all the way from New York and to procure a sleigh, in which he now proceeded on his religious mission to Pelham:

"A kind young man offering to take charge of driving us (to Pelham), we gladly accepted his services, which spared us much anxiety from the difficulties we should encounter with our new vehicle in making our way with safety, the road being barely wide enough in places for our sledge to pass the most crooked and sharpest turn we had ever yet met with ; stumps of trees were standing close to the road, some three feet high, we had the greatest possible difficulty to avoid being upset from the jolts occasioned when coming in contact with them ; trees also were lying at times across the road, over which we were obliged to make our way in the best manner we could ; my back and shoulders suffered very severely from the shocks I received. I felt truly thankful when we arrived safely at the comfortable home of Samuel Taylor and wife at Pelham."

On the following day pursuing his journey he says :

"Our road lay pretty much through woods, we frequently came to large dead trees close to the roadside, sometimes hanging over the road as if they were in the act of falling ; and as I had heard of a fatal accident that had recently occurred by a tree falling on a stage coach and two

* *Journal, op. cit.*, p. 195.

persons losing their lives in consequence, my faith was not a little tried ; but I found I must look beyond all these fears, to Him, who I was led humbly to hope, had called me forth thus to journey in his service.” *

After visiting Friends at Pelham and at Ancaster, and holding a special meeting on the Mohawk reserve on the Grand River, he proceeded to Norwich in Canada West. Here Thomas Shillitoe discovered that religious discord among the heads of the meeting had incurred disciplinary measures by Canada Half Year's Meeting, and that their Select Meeting—consisting of elders, overseers and ministers—had been dissolved, and “such members as retained their station were united with the Select Meeting of Yonge Street”. He gives the following description of conditions as he saw them in Norwich:

“Fourth Day, a.m., the meeting for discipline was preceded by a meeting for worship, which was largely attended, but was much interrupted by late comers in the meeting, and the great number of dogs that were brought to the meeting place barking most of the meeting time ; but alas ! as the business of the Monthly Meeting proceeded, I found there was much more to try the rightly exercised mind than these things ; it soon became manifest, that the enemy to all right order in religious society had obtained a place in the minds of not a few of the members of this meeting, and that the meeting was become like a house divided against itself ; and unless a remedy be soon applied, there appeared no other prospect, but that this monthly meeting must be dissolved, as had been the case with the Select Monthly Meeting. The meeting sat six hours, not because of the multiplicity of business that came before it, but from a want of unanimity in transacting the concerns of the society.” †

Thomas Shillitoe next proceeded to Yonge Street, going by way of the capital of Upper Canada, York, and in this meeting he also discovered evidences of disunion. “The meeting for discipline lasted six hours; the spirit of disaffection and of party was evidently to be felt at work in the minds of not a few of the members of the meeting which in due time was fully manifested to be the case.” As is too often the case, the official minutes of the Monthly Meeting give absolutely no

* *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

† *Journal*, *ibid.*, p. 199.

clue to the real proceedings of the session. The presence of Thomas Shillitoe is minuted in the usual form, simply stating that his "company and labours amongst us were acceptable and edifying".* But the comment of Thomas Shillitoe just quoted above, regarding the situation in Yonge Street is especially significant in view of the open opposition which had developed by the time he again visited this meeting on his return journey.

Though in Pickering Meeting, which Thomas Shillitoe next visited—there afterwards developed a strong group in sympathy with Elias Hicks, Thomas Shillitoe makes no mention of any trouble here; beyond noting what was a constant source of annoyance to him throughout his whole sojourn in Canada, the tardiness of members in gathering for meeting and the consequent interruption of the meeting by these late comers.

"First Day morning, attended the usual meeting held at this place; at least one hour elapsed before the meeting could come at any degree of settlement from the members of the meeting being so unseasonable in their attendance, some not coming in until the time meeting closed. I sat and mourned under a sorrowful sense of the prevalency of this evil practice amongst the members of our religious society in this wilderness part of the country."

Mention has already been made of the numerous dogs which disturbed Thomas Shillitoe by their "barking most of the meeting time". He was also frequently disturbed by the presence—as he described it on one occasion—"of a great train of infants; some of whom would not be restrained from running about the Meeting House, others manifesting a fretful, impatient disposition to get out of their confinement". Another hardship for him was the stuffy, overheated atmosphere of the meeting houses which he mentions on several occasions as a considerable trial. These were difficulties incidental to a pioneer community with which Thomas Shillitoe had been heretofore unacquainted.

From Pickering, Thomas Shillitoe passed on to Alderman (Haldimand), Ameliasburg, West Lake, Grassy Point (Green Point), and Adolphustown, returning to West Lake to attend

* *Minutes of Yonge Street Monthly Meeting*, held at Yonge Street. 18/1/1827 c.f. *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

Canada Half Year's Meeting, January, 1827. Again as the official minutes simply state without comment the fact of Thomas Shillitoe's presence, we are compelled to rely chiefly upon his journal for our impression of this meeting:

"Third Day morning we were favoured to reach West Lake after having much difficulty to encounter from the snow and severe cold; attended the half-year's Select meeting which was very small considering this half-year's meeting is composed of four monthly meetings, the travelling being so very difficult, had, no doubt, in a degree contributed to prevent a more general attendance of its members. The state of this part of the body from the answers to the queries brought up from the select monthly meeting, was very discouraging; and to look for improvement from the existing circumstances under which the society is labouring in this half-year's meeting,—the prevalency of unsoundness of principle—a disposition to undervalue the sacred writings and the wholesome discipline established, felt to me like hoping against hope; and that little more at present could be done by the members of this half year's meeting, who were preserved alive in the truth, than to hear their portion in lamentations, because of the desolations that prevailed in the camp; for truly it may be said of this part of the heritage, —'Death is come up into our windows and is entered into our palaces, to cut off the children from without, and the young men from the streets.' The prospect of a succession of faithful standard bearers from the present conduct of the youth is altogether discouraging. By endeavouring to equip myself faithfully in the discharge of the little that I was entrusted to communicate I was favoured to leave the meeting peacefully, which is an ample reward." *

After leaving West Lake, Thomas Shillitoe made his way to Ameliasburg, Coal Creek (Cold Creek) and thence to Pickering, Uxbridge, Whitchurch, and Yonge Street. His return visit to Yonge Street Monthly Meeting in Second Month, 1827, was a notable though lamentable occasion. For at this time occurred what appears to have been the first open clash between Evangelical Orthodoxy, as represented by Thomas Shillitoe, and traditional eighteenth century Quakerism, as represented by the supporters of Elias Hicks. Thomas Shillitoe gives the following account of the incident:

* *Journal, ibid*, pp. 206-207.

"Fifth Day, we attended the Monthly Meeting at Yonge Street ; the meeting for worship was largely attended ; many of other societies gave us their company. Early in the meeting I rose on my feet and delivered that which I believed was the word of the Lord to the people. After I sat down an acknowledged minister, who stood high with a party in the meeting, arose declaring that our supposing Adam's transgression had in any way affected his posterity was an absurd thing, and to suppose the coming of Christ in the flesh was to redeem mankind from sin, was equally absurd. Never before having heard such a manifest public avowal of these anti-Christian principles, which were so evidently making their way in the minds of many of our society in this half-year's meeting, I was brought into a trying situation ; but feeling I must not suffer the meeting to close without endeavouring, as help should be offered me, to maintain the ground I had taken in the opening of the meeting (and yet consequences were to be feared from the strong party the individual had in the meeting), I stood upon my feet and informed the meeting, notwithstanding what had been last communicated, was in direct contradiction to what I offered in the meeting, and altogether at variance with the well-known doctrines of the Society of which I was a member, yet I durst not recall a word of anything I had offered. In propagating these anti-Christian principles, a party spirit had so spread in the minds of some of the members of this meeting, and such opposition was manifested to the conducting the discipline in the true spirit of it, that the meeting sat from eleven in the a.m. until near six in the evening before it closed." *

No clue has been discovered as to who the public opposer of Thomas Shillitoe was on this occasion, but it is altogether likely that it was Nicholas Brown of Pickering, an acknowledged minister in Yonge Street Monthly Meeting and a strong supporter of the Hicks party, who later took a prominent part in the separation in New York Yearly Meeting in Fifth Month, 1828.† From the time of this episode in Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, the divergence between the two groups became more and more marked, till a Separation in New York Yearly Meeting in 1828 precipitated a similar crisis in the subordinate meetings of Canada Half Year's Meeting.

* *Journal, ibid.*, p. 209.

† Janney, *History of Friends*, Philadelphia, 1867, vol. iv, pp. 289-290.

The religious visitation of Thomas Shillitoe in Canada was now drawing to a close. From Yonge Street he proceeded to the Niagara District, visiting again Pelham and Black Creek meetings. Finally in January, 1827, he crossed over into the United States by the ferry at Black Rock, to resume his labours among the American meetings. His journey through a new country in the depth of winter had been attended with considerable hardship and even danger, especially for one of advanced years like himself. However, though naturally of a timid, shrinking disposition, Thomas Shillitoe was constantly sustained by the belief that his mission was in accordance with Divine leading. Not infrequently the mere suggestion that a task was difficult or personally disagreeable to him, came as a challenge that this was the very thing he was called upon to perform. But when after "many inward plungings", he had made up his mind that it was right to follow a certain course, nothing could divert him from accomplishing it. At once tender and timid, he could be as unyielding as adamant, and as brave as a lion when in the path of duty. There is something both sad, and at the same time lovable about this devoted, sensitive, though sometimes misguided soul.

Thomas Shillitoe's visit to Canada was especially significant because it reveals the growing antagonism between evangelical orthodox doctrine on one hand and formal, eighteenth century Quakerism on the other, which pushed to their extremes made a separation inevitable. Thomas Shillitoe left Canada convinced that a drastic application of disciplinary measures was necessary to root out unsound doctrine and to enforce the good order of the Society. But from our vantage point of nearly one hundred years we can now see that his judgment of conditions in Canada was inclined to be harsh and unsympathetic, largely because of his unfamiliarity with the difficulties peculiar to pioneer life; while his fixed belief in the existence of widespread doctrinal unsoundness caused him to see in the crude ideas and customs of a frontier Quaker community evidence of wilful religious dereliction.

That there was a real need for religious instruction in these backward communities, and that the meetings were sometimes lacking in order and dignity is abundantly evident. But these conditions existed not because of widespread religious obliquity, but largely because of lack of opportunity, or because of conditions peculiar to a new country. Canadian Quakerism was sound at the core. Whatever its ailments, they were those of a backward, Quaker community, isolated from the currents of progressive religious thought.

In Tenth Month, 1827, a definite Separation occurred in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and in Fifth Month, 1828, another Separation followed in New York Yearly Meeting. These difficulties soon spread throughout the four Monthly Meetings of Pelham, of Yonge Street, of West Lake, and of Leeds and Adolphustown, which at this time constituted the subordinate meetings of Canada Half Year's Meeting.

Though Thomas Shillitoe says nothing about the prevalence of religious unsoundness in Pickering Preparative Meeting during his visit there in 1827, so far as appears the first definite break occurred in this Meeting—a constituent part of Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. The occasion was the reception in Eighth Month, 1828, by Pickering Preparative Meeting of “a minute of advice and direction” issued by the Orthodox party in New York after the Separation, as the official body of New York Yearly Meeting. The acceptance or rejection of this official minute immediately forced an issue in the Canadian meetings which as yet had not arisen, but which as a result of the superior meeting's action, now compelled the taking of sides as opinion, temperament, or other circumstances might dictate. This statement clearly indicated what the Orthodox party believed to be, and were determined should be, the main issue:

“For several years past the minds of many Friends have been greatly exercised and pained in consequence of the promulgation of sentiments by persons under our name contrary to the principles of our religious society and subversive of the faith of our members in the authenticity and Divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, in the divinity of our Lord

and Saviour Jesus Christ, his mediation and intercession for us with the Father, in the propitiatory sacrifice which he made on the cross when through the eternal spirit he offered himself without spot to God for the redemption of mankind. The disorganizing effect of these anti-Christian opinions have been sorrowfully manifested amongst us producing insubordination to our excellent discipline, and many of those who have been unhappily ensnared by these delusive stratagems of the enemy have been gradually led on from one degree of disorder to another until at length they have openly gone out from our Society and set up meetings of their own contrary to the good order and discipline established amongst us in the wisdom of truth." *

Aside from the controversial character of the above statement itself and the aspersions it cast upon many prominent leaders in the Society, the Hicksite sympathizers in Pickering Meeting refused to recognize the authority of that section of the Yearly Meeting which had issued the statement. The Orthodox party, therefore, on the ground that the presiding Clerk (Nicholas Austin) and his supporters were "rejecting the authority of our discipline and casting off the subordination and restraint which is due that body" (namely, the "Orthodox" New York Yearly Meeting), took matters into their own hands and appointed a new Clerk of the Preparative Meeting in the person of William Wright.†

At a subsequent Preparative Meeting held at Pickering in Ninth Month, 1828, the Orthodox party disowned Nicholas

* *Minutes of Pickering Preparative Meeting, 7/8/1828.*

† "A considerable number of the members of this Preparative Meeting have united themselves in principle to those who have thus separated from our religious society and identified themselves with them at Pickering Preparative Meeting, Seventh Day of the Eighth Month, 1828, by refusing to have the minute of advice and direction from our late Yearly Meeting of Friends held in New York read or to acknowledge its committee, thereby rejecting the authority of our discipline and casting off the subordination and respect which is due that body. And the Clerk of this Preparative Meeting having joined in these irregular and disorderly letters, it became the duty of those Friends who remained attached to the ancient doctrines and discipline of our religious society, after testifying against these proceedings, to appoint a Clerk and maintain Pickering Preparative Meeting according to the original design of its establishment (to wit) as a Preparative Meeting of the religious Society of Friends, and a component part of and subordinate to the aforesaid regular and ancient Yearly Meeting of New York." — *Minutes of Pickering Preparative Meeting, 7/8/1828.*

Brown, an acknowledged minister of this meeting who had been prominent in the Separation which had taken place in New York Yearly Meeting in Fifth Month, and who for several years previous to this had been closely associated with Elias Hicks.* As previously noted it was the same Nicholas Brown who had, in all probability, publicly opposed Thomas Shillitoe at Yonge Street Monthly Meeting in Second Month, 1827. Soon after the disownment of Nicholas Brown about fifteen outstanding Hicksite supporters were also proceeded against and eventually disowned.†

Faction and party strife now broke loose throughout the whole Society in Canada, and while no scenes of disorder occurred comparable to those in several of the American Meetings, it was a sufficiently lamentable example of a house divided against itself. When the Orthodox party tried to hold their Preparative Meeting in the Meeting House at Pickering, Nicholas Brown, who was caretaker, refused them admittance to the building. They were, therefore, compelled to retire to "the school house on Friends' West Lot near Timothy Rogers", and to hold their meetings there for a season. Eventually the Orthodox party regained possession of the building and grounds, whereupon the Hicksite Friends were compelled to acquire a new Meeting House property about two miles further east along the main Kingston road, where a substantial brick Meeting House was eventually built.

Trouble seems to have broken out next in West Lake Monthly Meeting, which met at Bloomfield, in Eighth Month, 1828. The same three official representatives of New York Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) who had been at Pickering were also present at Bloomfield.‡ There was likewise present at

*Janney, *History of Friends*, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, pp. 289-290. Also *ibid*, vol. iv, p. 247.

† Joel Hughes, James Starr, Abraham Brown, James Carpenter, Joseph Brown, Silas Orvis, Eleazer Orvis, Nicholas Austin, James Brown, James Webster, Roland Brown, Ira Brown, Silvanus Brown, James Eves, Aaron Bunnel.—*Minutes of Pickering Preparative Meeting*, 11/9/1828.

‡ Thomas Linville, Mead Attwater, Michael Robson, whose presence the minutes (Orthodox) record "has been a strength and satisfaction to Friends."—*West Lake Monthly Meeting*, 21/8/1828.

this time Hugh Judge, who was on an extended religious visit to several of the Eastern Meetings. This aged Friend found circumstances very different from what they had been when he visited Canada over two decades ago.* But as we have tried to show, intellectual and religious forces had been at work in the Society, which had passed him by, or which when they touched his life at all, seemed destructive to many Quaker traditions that he cherished.

As in the case of Pickering Meeting the presentation of a minute from New York Yearly Meeting held in Fifth Month, and the appointment of a clerk to preside over the affairs of the Monthly Meeting was the beginning of the trouble in West Lake. The minutes of the Orthodox party state that, when the name of a Friend (Gilbert Dorland) was proposed to act as clerk for the ensuing year, "the meeting was thrown into disorder, the appointment being opposed by many members, particularly by James Noxon, Jacob Cronk, aided by Nicholas Brown of Pickering, and Hugh Judge", who was further designated in the minutes—with scant respect for one of his years and standing—as "a person from or near Baltimore, claiming to be a member and minister." Samuel D. Cronk, who had served for the past two years as Clerk of West Lake Monthly Meeting, was supported by the Hicksite party for this position, rather than Gilbert Dorland, the nominee of the Orthodox party. In the minutes kept by Samuel D. Cronk of this meeting there is not the slightest

* His *Journal*, which is very fragmentary for the latter years of his life, makes no reference to his visit to Canada at this time. It was evidently undertaken between the time of the death of his wife and his removal to Deer Creek, Maryland, where he made his home with his son-in-law for a few years. Hugh Judge was deeply distressed by the schism in the Society and makes the following interesting comment regarding it—16/1/1828: "What a gloomy day we live in! Darkness seems to cover the earth and gross darkness the people. Happy are they who have got beyond it all, out of reach of the noise and strife of times. I have known the Society for nearly sixty years, and I never knew anything to equal it. Where, or in what the storm will end, there is One only who knows. But this is sealed on my mind, that what is of God will stand, and what is not will fall to pieces like an old rotten building. The Church of Christ was never built up with blood and violence. Whenever force and violence were used, the true church retired into suffering: for Christ is the Prince of Peace, not of confusion."—Hugh Judge, *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

hint of any difficulty or disorder—the minutes simply stating that “the consideration of a Clerk coming before this meeting, Samuel D. Cronk being proposed, is appointed to that (position), and William Thomas, Assistant Clerk for one year.” The minutes of the Orthodox party, however, give further details which reveal anything but the tranquility suggested by the laconic minutes of their opposers:

“During the progress of these transactions, Friends deemed it right to keep their seats and be still, after expressing their decided disunity with the manner of their proceedings, thus Friends had to labour under the repeated calumnies and reproaches which some of the above mentioned threw out at intervals against Friends, particularly against the three Friends of the Yearly Meetings’ Committee who were present, calling them liars, deceivers, and promoters of disorder, and many abusive expressions which cannot be recollected, and under these painful afflictions of their abuses, Friends kept their seats until the seceders adjourned and withdrew, leaving Friends nearly alone, thus obtaining an opportunity to transact our business. The Meeting nominated a clerk and assistant for the year (Gilbert Dorland and Peter Taylor) and adjourned until this morning, but whilst the meeting was endeavouring to maintain its order, the keeper of the key of this Meeting House (John Cooper) proceeded to fasten up the shutters and in some measure disturb us in our business, and our leaving the house (he) fastened it up and the lock being altered by some means, we could not get in by the doors to meet agreeable to adjournment. On applying to the keeper of the key it was refused. Friends then thought proper to apply to a magistrate to aid us in getting possession of the house, which was readily granted by his writing to the keeper of the (key) who on presenting him with said letter, surrendered it (*i.e.* the key) on condition that the key should be returned to him again, which was agreed to by those who presented the letter.”*

In the following month when the Monthly Meeting convened at West Lake (in Ninth Month, 1828), it is recorded that “in consequence of the dissensions with respect to Religious principles amongst Friends at this time, and the seceders disturbing Friends from proceeding with their business, the

* *Minutes of West Lake Monthly Meeting (Orthodox)*, 21/8/1828.

meeting unites in adjourning to the tenth hour to-morrow morning". The meeting on the following day was not disturbed apparently, though in Twelfth Month, 1828, adjournment of the Meeting was again resorted to because of "disturbances caused by the Hicksites". As late as Fourth Month, 1830, disturbances in the meetings "by those who have been disowned from the Society as seceders" are complained of by the Orthodox Friends at West Lake.

Since at the time of the separation in West Lake Monthly Meeting, Samuel D. Cronk was the Clerk—having already served in this capacity for two years—he continued his entry of minutes in the same official records which had been kept with unbroken continuity since the establishment of West Lake Monthly Meeting in 1821. Practically all the official records of the Monthly Meeting, therefore, were retained by the Hicksite Friends. But a perusal of their records both before and after the Separation show them to be very reticent in their references to the whole controversy. Indeed for some time after the actual separation in West Lake, their minutes only give occasional veiled hints of difficulty in the meeting, with no definite mention of the orthodox insurgency, or of the bitter doctrinal dispute which was in progress. For this side of the controversy one must go principally to the records of the Orthodox Friends.* An explanation of this can be found in the fact that, from the first the Hicksite party refused to acknowledge that the real issue was one of doctrine at all. Their position was that Friends had never adopted any doctrinal creed and had not in the past insisted on any rigid standards of belief—that they had always placed the main emphasis on the experimental and practical side of religion, expressing itself in conduct and in life rather than in religious opinions and dogma. In taking this position the Hicksite Friends believed themselves to be more closely in line with

* In West Lake Monthly Meeting the doctrinal issue appears to have been more strongly emphasized than in any other section. But even here it is doubtful whether an actual separation would have occurred if the issue had not been forced as a result of the Separation in the Mother Yearly Meeting of New York.

the traditions of Quakerism than their opposers. They claimed, therefore, that they were the true and original body of Friends, and that the Orthodox group in Canada were the seceders and in revolt against the good order and discipline of the Society by identifying themselves with a movement which had originated—in the case of the Philadelphia elders and Elias Hicks—as a high-handed attempt to override the discipline and to subvert the religious freedom of the Society of Friends. Accordingly, when the Hicksites disowned their Orthodox brethren, there is no mention of doctrinal disunity, but the whole question is made one involving a breach of the good order and established discipline of the Society. This idea was carried out in the form of disownment which was generally used by the Hicksite Friends in Canada, as follows:

“Whereas A.B., a member of the religious Society of Friends, has so far deviated from the good order of the Society as to protest against the proceedings of our meeting for discipline and separated himself therefrom, and has been instrumental in setting up (or has attended) separate meetings contrary to discipline ; and our labours of love in order to restore him not having the desired effect, we do therefore testify against his being any longer a member of our Society until by repentance and amendment of life he may make satisfaction to Friends which that he may be favoured to do, is our desire.”

The Orthodox Friends on their side, were quite as insistent that they were the true body of the Society and that the Hicksites were the seceders. As a result of influences which we have already noted, Orthodox Friends had become so thoroughly imbued with the evangelical teaching of writers like Henry Tuke, or of preachers like Stephen Grellet, Thomas Shillitoe, and a score of others who might be mentioned—that to this party, the reluctance of many Friends to accept a dogmatic statement of evangelical belief, or their apparent indifference to the importance of so doing, seemed a denial of the very basis of Quakerism, and indeed of all Christian belief. It was the depth and passion of this conviction which the supporters of Elias Hicks failed to understand or to conciliate. On the other hand, it was this same conviction that caused

orthodox leaders like Thomas Shillitoe to speak with such bitterness of "the unchristian cause" of their opposers. Accordingly, the general policy of the Orthodox party was to purify the Society of Friends by a drastic application of discipline, to hew to the narrow line of evangelical dogma, and to make religious nonconformity the main issue and cause of disownment. The form of disownment generally used by Orthodox Friends in Canada serves to illustrate their point of view:

"Whereas A.B. hath so far deviated from our Christian testimony and from the order of Society as to neglect our meetings to attend those set up by Elias Hicks and others, whom we believe holds forth doctrines of unbelief and infidelity, in order as far as in us lies to clear the truth from the reproach brought on it by such inconsistent conduct, after our Christian endeavour in love to reclaim him being without effect, we are compelled to testify against and deny the said A.B. to be any longer a member of our religious society. Yet our desires for him are that he may be favoured to see the errors of his ways and experience repentance for the same and be restored to unity with Friends."

The above form—sometimes slightly abbreviated—was generally used in the cases of disownment which were now instituted against Hicksite Friends in practically every Preparative and Monthly Meeting in Upper Canada.

It is not necessary to follow out in detail the course of the Separation in every Monthly Meeting in Canada. In each instance they present practically the same phenomena as have already been noted in the case of Pickering and West Lake, where trouble first came to a head. The doctrinal issue was apparently more prominent in West Lake than elsewhere. But in other localities there is plenty of evidence of meetings disturbed by the opposing party, as well as of attempts to prevent their opponents from using the Meeting House for business or for worship. At Yonge Street, for example, the Hicksite Friends debarred the use of the Meeting House by their opposers, transacted their business at the Meeting House door—to the probable annoyance of those inside the building. This occurred two or three times. On other occasions they withdrew to the nearby Meeting House shed there to transact

their business. In spite of the provocation implied by incidents of this kind during a period of tense feeling and sometimes bitter partisanship, the absence of any attempts by either side to use violence or force is evidence of rather remarkable self control—especially in a rough pioneer community where not infrequently individuals took the law into their own hands.

In 1829 the controversy which had by now spread throughout most of the subordinate meetings of Canada Half Year's Meeting, broke out in the superior meeting itself, which convened at Yonge Street in Ninth Month. Since the Clerk of the meeting, Joel Hughes, was known to favour the Hicksite party, the Orthodox group which was apparently in the majority, refused to recognize his appointment or to allow the business of the meeting to proceed under his direction. Thereupon the Hicksite party, acting on the advice of a committee from their own Yearly Meeting in New York, voluntarily withdrew from the Meeting House to the house of William I. Phillips. Since Joel Hughes was retained as their Clerk, he took with him the official minute book of Canada Half Year's Meeting, which accordingly passed into the hands of the Hicksite branch of Friends. On the conclusion of their business they declared that Canada Half Year's Meeting stood adjourned to meet in 1830 at Green Point. The removal of the Hicksite branch of the Half Year's Meeting from Yonge Street to this rather remote place in Prince Edward County, was also done on the advice of the Yearly Meeting Committee, "that they adjourn to some place where they can meet in the Quiet separate from their opposers".*

As a result, therefore, of the Great Separation of 1828 in the American Yearly Meetings, Canada Half Year's Meeting in 1829 was split into two fragments, each calling itself the superior meeting of the Society in Canada, and each in official connection with two Yearly Meetings in New York, both of

* See *Minute of Advice to Canada Half Year's Meeting, Minutes of Canada Half Year's Meeting* (Hicksite), 2/9/1829. Between 1830 and 1836 Canada Half Year's Meeting was held alternately at Green Point and Yonge Street, but after 1837 at West Lake.

which claimed to represent *the* Society of Friends in America. From this time on the Society of Friends—never very numerous in Canada—presented to the world a broken front with diminished influence and numbers. Both branches of the Society suffered; though the Hicksite branch being numerically the smaller, felt the separation more keenly.

The sweeping charge of doctrinal unsoundness fastened upon the Hicksite Friends, in spite of their protests to the contrary, by their Orthodox opposers caused them to be regarded by many Evangelical sects with suspicion and in some districts even with hostility. This feeling outside the Society was not, however, without some cause; since the Hicksite principle of complete religious freedom with respect to doctrine had attracted to their side many of ultra-radical views which they often freely expressed to the distress of many within the Society and to the scandal of many without. Edward Hicks, for example, writing about 1843, complains repeatedly of the growing influence of Unitarianism within this branch of the Society, a result which, he claims, Elias Hicks at the time of the Separation had neither desired nor foreseen. He also laments the tendency of some to deny the unique Divinity of Jesus Christ, and several times he sorrowfully refers to the assertion “of a professed Quaker preacher of the Gospel of Jesus Christ—that a certain Roman Catholic priest in Ireland had done greater works than even Jesus had done”.* Such assertions as this naturally created a painful impression both within and without the Society; while the Orthodox Friends found in the extreme statements of a few radicals of this type a justification for their excommunication of the whole body of Hicksite Friends as “unsound”. This sweeping condemnation was not justifiable. For while many Hicksite Friends might be called “Unitarian”—if labels of this kind can at all accurately define religious opinions—the fact remains that the Hicksite branch of Friends as a whole simply held to its original principle of complete religious freedom by reserving the right to emphasize a side of truth—the humanity of Jesus Christ—which partisan Trinitarians were inclined

* Edward Hicks, *Memoirs*, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 215, 239.

either to overlook or to depreciate. In any case this branch of Friends refused to be labelled by speculative titles—either “Trinitarian” or “Unitarian”, and also refused to disown anyone whose opinions were drawn decidedly to either of these views, so long as they accepted the simple principles of life and conduct laid down in the *Discipline* of the Society. A serious confusion, however, was created in the minds of those outside the Society as to its real principles and belief; and since Friends themselves were apparently far from agreed on this matter, it placed the whole Society in rather an unfavourable light. Moreover, it was much simpler for those who might otherwise have been attracted to Friends to join a religious group in which doctrine and organization were clear cut and more uniform, or a group which did not make such heavy demands, as did the Society, on the thinking and initiative of the individual.

Both branches of Friends in Canada suffered in other ways as well. Most meetings never recovered from the shock of the Separation. Some were laid down altogether, while others dragged out a lingering existence without retrieving the position they once held in the community before their ranks had been broken. Moreover, the maintenance in the same community of two separate and, in a sense, rival meetings of Friends, placed a heavy strain upon the resources and initiative of each group, with the result that the effectiveness of each was materially neutralized. There was, therefore, a regrettable loss of vigour, efficiency, and usefulness all along the line.

Within a comparatively few years after the Separation many even who had been actively concerned in it, realized that the whole affair had been a sad mistake. “Samuel Bettle who had been Clerk of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting at the time of the Separation in that Meeting, and who sided with the Orthodox party, publicly stated that he believed patient labour and suffering would have been better than division.”* This feeling has grown, and in recent years there

* A. C. Thomas, *History of Friends*, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

W. Hodgson, *The Society of Friends in the Nineteenth Century*, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 219-220.

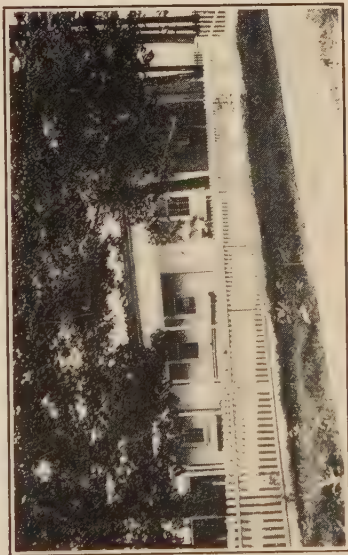
has been a marked tendency towards fellowship among all who bear the name of "Friend". The tendency towards closer co-operation was materially strengthened during the Great War (1914-1918) when the necessity of Friends to give a reason for the faith which lay in them regarding their opposition to all war, and their co-operation in war relief work led to the discovery that those things wherein the two branches of the Society differed, were after all insignificant compared with the great Quaker heritage of truth which they still held in common. In fact the time-worn labels "Hicksite" and "Orthodox" have no real meaning any longer for the rising generation of Quakerism; and while organic union may not be immediate, there now exists between these two branches of the Society of Friends in Canada and in the United States a feeling of unity and a desire for closer co-operation which augurs well for the future.*

*AUTHOR'S NOTE: Since Chapters VIII and IX, dealing with the Hicksite-Orthodox Separation have been written, and just as this book goes to the press, the decision has been made by the two different branches of New York Yearly Meeting to observe the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Great Separation of 1828 by holding their next Yearly Meetings in joint session in New York; while Canada Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) and Genesee Yearly Meeting have likewise decided to meet in joint session at Newmarket, Ont., in 1928.

Though this does not mean organic union, it does show the growing recognition of a great, common heritage of religious experience, and the increasing appreciation of a common possession of truth—not resting on mere theological opinions—but "verified and verifiable," and broad enough to include all who call themselves Friends.



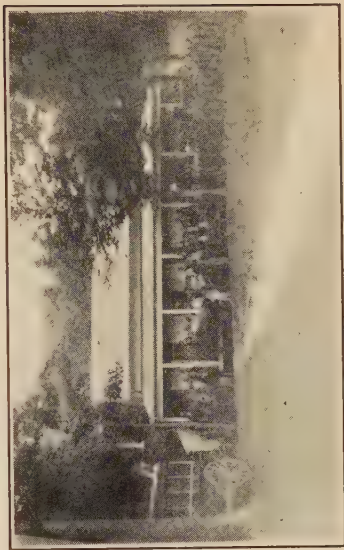
The White Meeting House, Pelham



Coldstream Meeting House, Lobo



Sparta Meeting House



Genesee Yearly Meeting, 1871, Sparta

CHAPTER X

THE REORGANIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE HICKSITE BRANCH OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

*Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends, Pelham Half Year's Meeting,
Canada Half Year's Meeting*

THE Hicksite Separation in Canada Half Year's Meeting in 1829 made necessary a complete reorganization of the two branches of the Society of Friends in Upper Canada. Accordingly, in 1834 a new Yearly Meeting was set up by the Hicksite Branch of New York Yearly Meeting, consisting of those groups—principally in Western New York State and in Upper Canada—which had cast in their lot with the supporters of Elias Hicks.

The first suggestion of setting up the Western part as a Yearly Meeting seems to have come from Farmington Quarterly Meeting, New York, as early as 1826.* In all probability the Hicksite controversy in the Eastern meetings had something to do with this suggestion. Many were very impatient at the prominent part taken by English Friends in the recent troubles, and were firmly convinced that the deference paid to these English visitors, and their presumption on this account to dictate to the Eastern meetings, was the real cause of the Separation.† In fact, the West was always inclined to be a bit impatient with the conservatism of the older districts, and was conscious of a decided difference in their general circumstances and point of view. The remote situation of New York Yearly Meeting would also suggest the advisability of establishing a new Yearly Meeting which would be nearer at hand,

* The suggestion was apparently first brought forward at Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 14/12/1826, and was directed to the Half Year's Meeting for its consideration. "Men Friends inform that there is a proposition from Farmington Quarterly Meeting for a division of the Yearly Meeting."—*Minutes of Canada Half Year's Meeting* held at West Lake, 31/1/1827.

† Sunderland P. Gardiner, a prominent minister of Farmington Meeting was an exponent of this view.—See *Memoirs, op. cit.*, pp. 187-188, 283-287, 297-299.

and altogether more representative of a western frontier constituency.

Genesee Yearly Meeting was accordingly established in 1834, consisting of Farmington and Scipio Quarterly Meetings, in Western New York, and—in Upper Canada—of Canada Half Year's Meeting (comprising the Monthly Meetings of Yonge Street, Pickering, and West Lake), and of Pelham Half Year's Meeting (comprising the Monthly Meetings of Pelham and Norwich).^{*} In Sixth Month, 1834, the new Yearly Meeting met for the first time at Farmington, New York. Its sessions were held in the commodious two-story frame meeting house which had been built in 1816-17, and which would comfortably seat over twenty-five hundred people.[†] The representatives appointed from Canada to attend the opening session of Genesee Yearly Meeting were: Jacob Cronk, Jonathan Clarke, Cornelius White, James Noxon, John Watson, and Nicholas Brown. Though at first the American Meetings within Genesee Yearly Meeting were numerically stronger, with their gradual decline the balance of numbers and influence was eventually to shift to the Canadian side of the line. For a number of years Genesee Yearly Meeting met alternately at Farmington (N.Y.), at Sparta (Yarmouth Township), and at Bloomfield (West Lake, in Prince Edward County); but since about 1900 the Yearly Meeting has been held almost entirely in Canadian territory. Throughout its history, however, Genesee Yearly Meeting has maintained a very close contact with its American constituency.[‡]

^{*} *Minutes of Canada Half Year's Meeting*, held at Yonge Street, 28/8/1833.

[†] S. P. Gardiner, *Memoirs*, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

[‡] In 1834 Farmington and Scipio Quarterly Meetings constituted about two-thirds of the total membership of Genesee Meeting; but by 1890 the membership of the two Canadian Half Year's Meetings was the larger. In 27/1/1887, Farmington Monthly Meeting became an Executive Meeting. By 1887 Scipio had likewise become an Executive Meeting. The decline of Farmington and Scipio was largely due to the Separations of 1848-1857. In 1890 the statistical report of Genesee Yearly Meeting gave the total membership as 1535, *viz.* :

494—Farmington Quarterly Meeting.

202—Scipio Quarterly Meeting.

399—Canada Half Year's Meeting.

440—Pelham Half Year's Meeting.

The most outstanding figure in Genesee Yearly Meeting was Sunderland Pattison Gardiner, of Farmington, N.Y., whose valuable *Memoirs* have already been referred to several times. His people had moved from Albany County, New York, to Farmington, Ontario County, in the Genesee Tract, in 1814, when he was about twelve years of age. He was, therefore, a product—at its best—of this pioneer country. He makes an interesting comment regarding conditions in Western New York State just at the conclusion of the war of 1812: "We found the country comparatively new and much more productive than the one we had left, but there were some serious disadvantages to counterbalance, such as fevers—especially fever and ague; and the effects of the war which was about closing as to hostilities but not with regard to its consequences. Business was deranged, men had lost confidence in each other, morals were lax, and people had to a great extent imbibed the spirit and feeling consequent upon war; hence intemperance, quarrelling, fighting, lawsuits, and general licentiousness, all contributed to exhibit human nature *perverted*, in its worst character."* At Farmington—he states—there was no other public place of worship for many years, so that the inhabitants generally attended the large Friends' Meeting House at that place.

An account of Sunderland P. Gardiner's early religious experiences and of his response to "that Voice which"—as he says—"spoke so clearly to my spiritual understanding in the days of my early youth", is very interesting, but cannot be related here. But for aught we know, the great stone still remains on the hill on the north end of his farm "where he used to kneel and pray when a boy as he drove the cows to and from the pasture", and where he "conversed with and had been instructed by his Heavenly Father, even as a man would commune with his friend".† He was first acknowledged as a minister of the Society in 1849.

Sunderland P. Gardiner was accustomed to speak with great plainness and vigour. Indeed his ministry had something

* S. P. Gardiner, *Memoirs, op. cit.*, p. 213.

† *Ibid*, pp. 19-20.

of that prophetic quality that characterised the preaching of Elias Hicks, to whom he was distantly related. Few ministers in the Society of Friends can show a record of more devoted and unselfish service than Sunderland P. Gardiner. In one year he estimated that he had travelled over nine thousand miles in the course of his religious visits among Friends. In our day of paved highways and automotive transportation, we must not forget the difficulties and the tedious character of travel at that time. He felt his work to be especially one of love and sympathy to the bereaved and sorrow-stricken, and his services on such occasions were greatly in demand. Day or night, in all weathers, he was always ready to respond. He states that in the last forty-two years of his life he preached two thousand two hundred and sixty-one funeral sermons. He was a very frequent visitor to the Canadian Meetings, and news of his arrival was the signal for a large attendance. At Pelham Half Year's Meeting in 1889, nearly a thousand people from the surrounding district assembled to hear him preach at the First Day Meeting. "He never gained much of this world's goods, for his necessary expenses abroad took all his surplus earnings, yet by strict economy he was enabled to retain his home and maintain his family comfortably." But at the advanced age of eighty, having reached almost the limit of his days of active ministry, he had little prospect of a comfortable old age, as he had laid up nothing against this time. Kind friends, however, purchased for him a comfortable home in which, with his wife, he was permitted to end his days in happy and useful service almost to the last. He died in 1893, aged ninety-one years. At his special request his dear friend, Isaac Wilson, of Bloomfield (West Lake, Ontario), preached his funeral sermon. Possessed by a deep sense of responsibility for the spiritual welfare of his followers, of a great tenderness for the sorrow-stricken, yet very plain spoken on occasion, and valiant for Truth as he saw it, Sunderland P. Gardiner was representative of a noble type of ministry and service that has practically passed out of the Society of Friends at the present day.

John J. Cornell, of Mendon, N.Y., was another minister of outstanding ability. His book entitled *The Principles of Friends* had wide acceptance within this branch of the Society.

Pelham Half Year's Meeting, comprising:

Pelham, Battle Creek, Norwich, Lobo Monthly Meetings

Pelham Monthly Meeting

In pursuing the problem of reorganization in the subordinate meetings of Genesee Yearly Meeting, we find that Pelham Half Year's Meeting had been established in 1832 by the authority of New York Yearly Meeting, and in 1834—as we have just seen—Pelham had become a constituent part of Genesee Yearly Meeting. At first Pelham Half Year's Meeting was held alternately at Pelham and at Yarmouth. In Pelham Monthly Meeting, where the Hicksite Branch of Friends were numerically stronger, they retained possession of the original meeting house, grounds, and property. The meeting house at Pelham had been rebuilt in 1807, but was replaced in 1875 by another frame building, which is the "White Meeting House" of the Hicksite Friends at Pelham, as it stands to-day. This house is only in occasional use, however, owing to the fact that since 1920 the Hicksite and Orthodox Friends have been meeting together in the "Brick Meeting House" at Pelham Corners—a very interesting example of the growing unity which in recent years has been gradually drawing together the once sundered branches of the Society. Since 1911 Pelham has been an Executive Meeting, that is to say, the functions of the Preparative and Monthly Meeting have been merged into one Executive Meeting.

Since practically the whole membership of Black Creek Preparative Meeting joined the Hicksite Friends, it was continued as a constituent meeting by this branch of the Society. About the year 1833, William Lyon Mackenzie describes a visit to this locality: "A few miles from Lake Erie in the

Township of Bertie, in a quiet and retired spot near the concession road, stands the plain and unadorned place of worship of the Society of Friends, and at a little distance beyond, the school." The school was evidently in progress, for Mr. Mackenzie says that there were from twenty to thirty boys and girls—"the children of the neighbouring Quakers." He also speaks of meeting the teacher—"my old friend Mr. William Wilson".* As time went by, the meeting at Black Creek gradually declined in numbers—as a result, either of "marrying out" of the Society, which usually meant "disownment", or of removals to other districts. In 1869, Black Creek Preparative Meeting was laid down, and its members were joined to Pelham Preparative Meeting; though a meeting for worship on First Days was maintained at Black Creek for seven years longer. At last, in 1878, the meeting house and property were sold, thereby ending the history of one of the oldest organized religious groups of Protestant opinion in Upper Canada.

Battle Creek, Michigan

In 1848 Pelham Half Year's Meeting acquired the new Monthly Meeting of Battle Creek, Calhoun County, Michigan, which for the next forty-three years remained a constituent part of Pelham. This acquisition was not deliberate, but came as the result of a series of separations which occurred among the meetings of the Hicksite Friends for almost a decade after 1848, and which seriously depleted their ranks. These separations were, in a sense, an aftermath of the Great Separation of 1828. Placing slight importance on the doctrinal side of religion, it was natural that works of philanthropy and social reform should have especially engaged the attention of the Hicksite Friends. Moreover, having won that religious freedom which many believed to have been the real issue of the Hicksite controversy, a radical minority now

* W. L. Mackenzie, *Sketches of Canada and the United States*, Toronto, 1833, p. 234.

attempted to commit their branch of the Society to a more advanced programme of reform than the majority were yet prepared to accept. The radicals urged, for example, that Friends should actively identify themselves, as a religious society, with the Abolitionist Movement, that they should commit themselves to total prohibition, penal reform, abolition of capital punishment, equal suffrage—as well as to a drastic revision of the Discipline of the Society—such as the abolition of the Meeting of Ministers and Elders, and the adoption of the congregational principle in church government. Altogether this was a large order in an age which was contemporaneous with that of Metternich! Moreover, it was evident that the personal freedom of which many Hicksites claimed to be champions, was too individualistic and unrestrained, and was even capable of grave abuse.*

The result of these radical tendencies within the Hicksite branch was a decade of Separations after 1848, during which ten new Yearly Meetings were set up by those who seceded from the Hicksite Friends in Western New York State, Michigan and Ohio. The seceding† Friends from Michigan

* In 1864 S. P. Gardiner, visiting one of the meetings, at Junius, where a separation had taken place, said: "This place has been much affected as far as religion is concerned by a kind of ranterism. This trouble first commenced among those who professed to be Friends, by their taking very active measures out of Society on the subject of slavery, and uniting and mixing with almost everything, however absurd, until they left Society for larger liberty. Finally, Friends have nearly run out in this place, hardly enough left to bury their dead."—S. P. Gardiner, *Memoirs, op. cit.*, p. 117.

† See Allen C. Thomas, *Congregational or Progressive Friends, A Forgotten Episode in Quaker History*, Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, vol. x, No. 1, 1920, pp. 21-32. The radical group which seceded at this time from the Hicksite Friends were generally known as "Congregational" or "Progressive Friends." Their main principles were: (1) Freedom of belief or liberty of conscience. (2) Absolute individual freedom of speech and action as far as practicable. (3) Congregational meetings with freedom of action in each meeting. (4) Annual meetings with advisory powers only. (5) All meetings open to interested persons whether members or not. (6) No recording of ministers, and the abolition of the Meeting of Ministers and Elders. (7) Wholehearted support of the anti-slavery cause and of the abolitionists. (8) Absolute equality of the sexes, including suffrage. (9) Refraining from the manufacture, sale, and use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage. (10) General reformation of the penal laws, and abolition of capital punishment.

Quarterly Meeting took the rather imposing name of "Michigan Yearly Meeting of Friends of Human Progress". As a result of this secession, Genesee Yearly Meeting declared Michigan Quarterly Meeting to be dissolved; while "a tribulated remnant" in three of the former Monthly Meetings were attached to a fourth Monthly Meeting at Battle Creek, and established as a Monthly Meeting under the care of Pelham Half Year's Meeting in Upper Canada.*

Having had this waif left on their doorstep, as it were, the Friends of Pelham Half Year's Meeting were at first rather in doubt as to what kind of treatment it should require, and consequently in 1849 we find Pelham asking for the assistance and advice of the Yearly Meeting in the matter. They were advised by the Yearly Meeting to be lenient in the application of discipline, especially towards those who might wish "to return to their right as members", which they might be allowed to do "without acknowledging their error, provided it was done in one year".† But Battle Creek Monthly Meeting never recovered from the losses of 1848-9. The meeting was visited a number of times by Sunderland P. Gardiner, who in 1859 found evidence of much "confusion" and "darkness" among its members.‡ Eventually the Monthly Meeting was laid down about 1891; though for several years longer there were a number of isolated Friends in this district who still maintained some connection with, and interest in, the Society.§

Norwich Monthly Meeting

At the time of the separation in Norwich Monthly Meeting in Tenth Month, 1828, the Hicksite Friends decided to

* *Minutes* from Genesee Yearly Meeting, 12/6/1848, to Norwich Monthly Meeting, 13/9/1848, stated that: "This meeting considering the state of society within Michigan Quarterly Meeting has decided to discontinue Michigan Quarterly Meeting and order its constituent Monthly Meetings to report in future to Pelham Quarterly Meeting." Battle Creek Monthly Meeting consisted at this time of three Preparatives: Battle Creek, Adrian, and West Unity.

† Report of Genesee Yearly Meeting to Norwich Monthly Meeting, 12/9/1849.

‡ S. P. Gardiner, *Memoirs*, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.

§ See, *Report of Joint Committee on Isolated Members*, 1909, *Minutes of Genesee Yearly Meeting*, 1910, p. 11.

withdraw from the Preparative Meeting at North Norwich to Pine Street Preparative Meeting in South Norwich, where they were in the majority. Pine Street, therefore, became a constituent meeting of the reorganized Norwich Monthly Meeting. In Yarmouth Preparative Meeting, practically all the Friends sided with the Hicksite Branch of the Society; and the same was true of the little group of Friends in the adjoining townships of Malahide and Bayham, which was established in 1845 as Malahide Preparative Meeting. The Meeting House at Malahide had been built in 1842. It was twenty-four feet by forty feet, and stood on about an acre of land near the southwest corner of lot number twenty-six, south of the Talbot Road in Malahide Township. The first trustees of the meeting were George Laur, Phineas Kinsey, John Pound. In 1883 the Preparative Meeting at Malahide was laid down; though the meeting for worship was continued for a few years longer. In 1892 the Preparative Meeting at Pine Street was also laid down, leaving at Yarmouth the only active centre of Friends in this portion of Norwich Monthly Meeting.*

No account of Norwich Monthly Meeting would be complete without mentioning at least two or three ministers in this Meeting who made a large place for themselves not only in the hearts and lives of the little group of Friends to whom they ministered, but in the life of the community at large. Freeman Clarke was probably the best known minister in Norwich Monthly Meeting. At the age of nine years he came with his parents to Canada—about 1813—and lived in Haldimand Township till 1840, when he removed to Norwich. Though this locality remained his home and the principal scene of his labours till the time of his death in 1875, he travelled extensively among other meetings both in Canada and the United States. His gift in the ministry had been acknowledged when he was twenty-two years of age, and he had been a leader in Haldimand Meeting at the time of the

* In 1891 Norwich Monthly Meeting had three hundred and fifty-four members.

Separation. The year after his removal to Norwich, the meeting was laid down by Canada Half Year's Meeting. The exercise of his gift in the ministry is said to have been encouraged by the timely advice and sympathy of a dear, old elder who—at the conclusion of one of Freeman Clarke's earliest and somewhat faltering attempts at self-expression in a meeting for worship—grasped him by the hand, saying: "Freeman, no man can help thee; no man can harm thee; do thy duty."

It was through this duty of ministry faithfully performed by Freeman Clarke in later years and through his preaching that Serena Minard became a "convinced Friend", and eventually one of the most gifted woman ministers in this branch of the Society. When a child, Serena Minard had been brought up as a Presbyterian in a cultured home in New York. But after her marriage to John Minard of Yarmouth, she became a member of the local meeting in which the remaining years of her life were largely spent. Her new home surroundings in a rural community just merging from pioneer conditions must have presented many sharp contrasts with the cultivated home life to which she had been accustomed in her girlhood days. Nevertheless, she soon won for herself a remarkable place in the meeting and in the general esteem of the community. Her gift in the ministry was acknowledged by Norwich Monthly Meeting in 1879. She performed other valuable services as well in the Society, acting first as assistant clerk of Pelham Half Year's Meeting, and then as clerk of the same, in 1880. In the records of this meeting one may still read the carefully phrased minutes inscribed in the clear, precise hand of Serena Minard. In later years she travelled extensively in the ministry, and in 1895 she was a delegate to the World's Convention of the W.C.T.U. in London, England.

Her gift in the ministry was the expression of a character of exceptional sweetness and winsome quality. She once confided to a friend that her first efforts in the ministry were offered with great diffidence and hesitancy, and that at first when rising to speak in a meeting for worship, she was so

overcome by her audience that she would stand with down-cast eyes, scarcely daring to face her auditors. She said, however, that on one occasion while speaking in meeting with her customary diffidence, she heard a Voice say: "Lift up thine eyes", and that upon doing so, she was able ever afterwards to face her audience with composure and assurance. Her voice was very sweet, with a soft, rather Southern accent; and her words came with ease and facility of expression. But the beautiful face and the spirit which shone out through it, were even more appealing than the actual, spoken words. It has been related by those who knew her in the neighbouring town of St. Thomas, that many who chanced to meet her on the street, would walk around a block in the hope of meeting her again, and of catching just another glimpse of the sweet, placid face framed in her Quaker bonnet. Her very presence as well as her life was a benediction.

Two other prominent women ministers belonging to Norwich were Lavissa Schooley and Sarah Haight. The names of both these women appear many times in the records of the meeting. Sarah Haight was the wife of Reuben Haight, a valued member of Yarmouth Meeting and one of the pioneers of the district. Though the mother of twelve children, she was active in the ministry and made a number of religious visits to meetings outside her own Monthly Meeting. The outstanding incident in her ministry was probably the occasion when she preached the funeral sermon of Joshua Doan, a former member of the meeting who had been executed because of his connection with the Rebellion in Upper Canada in 1837-'38—an incident to which reference will be made in another chapter. While Sarah Haight spoke to a large concourse of people within the old meeting house at Sparta, the brother of Joshua Doan, Israel, paced up and down the meeting house yard, inconsolable, in an agony of grief. It was altogether a solemn and affecting occasion, long remembered by the inhabitants of Yarmouth and vicinity. Sarah Haight, Lavissa Schooley, and Serena Minard represented a type of womanhood and of religious service which was as distinctive as it

was rare. No other religious group in Canada at this time could offer women the large place of service and of usefulness which these three women occupied for so many years, both in the Society of Friends and in their home community.

Lobo and Arkona

By the middle of the nineteenth century there were still whole townships in the back districts of Upper Canada uncleared and practically unsettled. The opening up of these more remote districts, and the consequent expansion of population, was to lead to the establishment of two new meetings within the limits of Norwich Monthly Meeting. The first of these new meetings was at Coldstream in Lobo Township, which was situated about fifteen miles northwest of the growing town of London, and about forty miles northwest of Yorkmouth. The first Friends' families came to Lobo Township about 1843. By 1857 Lobo was established as a regular Preparative Meeting, and in 1893 it became a Monthly Meeting. Lobo had a very interesting history, about which something more will be said later.

Meanwhile a few Friends had moved west of Lobo Township into Zone; and though Norwich Monthly Meeting tried to keep in touch with them, the fewness of their numbers and their isolation caused them in a few years to lose all connection with the Society. By 1877 other Friends had pushed north into Warwick and the adjoining township of Bosanquet on the south shore of Lake Huron. About 1877 the Friends in Warwick built a meeting house, and in 1882 a regular Preparative Meeting was established by the name of Arkona Preparative Meeting. In 1877 a First Day School was organized, and continued in active operation as long as the meeting was maintained. In 1891 there were sixty-four members in the Preparative Meeting. In 1908, the Arkona Meeting was laid down, after the removal of its clerk, Ernest B. Cutler, and his family to the Canadian West.

The new meeting in Lobo Township had a more active and interesting history. Among the pioneers of this district

were several Friends' families of which some had removed from Pelham District, while others had come directly from Pennsylvania as early as 1834. The first settlers in Lobo Township literally had to hew their homes out of the forest, as this district was extremely heavily wooded. Daniel Zavitz, for example, who came to Lobo in 1843, purchased one hundred acres of land at four dollars an acre on which not a tree had been cut. During the first year he managed to clear seven acres, which he sowed with wheat, only to have his promised crop caught by the late frost and ruined. Undaunted, however, he chopped his way into the stubborn forest, adding field to field as the work of clearing and cultivation progressed. At the end of four years, he journeyed down into Western New York State to secure the hand of a companion and help-mate in the person of Susan W. Vail, who returned with him to the home in the clearing which had been prepared during those four years of labour. The descendants of this pioneer Quaker home have been, and still are, among the leaders in this community. Others of the first pioneer families of Lobo were: Harris, Cutler, Marsh, Shotwell, Muma, and Wilson. "In those early days there was big game in the woods. Bears were frequently seen prowling around in the day time. The howling of wolves often was heard at night, and the mild-eyed deer would sometimes graze with the cattle. They were known even to go with the cows up to the barn." There was still an occasional Indian encampment, as well.*

In this pioneer community of Lobo a flourishing Friends' Meeting was eventually to be established. In 1849 a meeting for worship on First Days was granted to Lobo Friends; and in 1857 a regular Preparative Meeting was established by authority of Norwich Monthly Meeting. In 1850, property for a meeting house was first secured by the purchase of an acre of land from Benjamin Cutler, and in 1851, of an additional half acre from the adjoining farm of John Marsh—upon which a frame meeting house was erected. Daniel

* Edgar M. Zavitz, *A History of Friends in Lobo Township*, London, Canada, no date. Edgar M. Zavitz is a son of Daniel Zavitz, and still occupies the old homestead (1926).

Zavitz and Daniel H. Cornell were appointed the first trustees of the property. By 1859 the meeting house was no longer adequate; whereupon a new brick meeting house, fifty feet long by thirty-two feet wide was erected. This is the meeting house at Coldstream as it now stands, sheltered on one side by a row of dark evergreens—and on the other, by a magnificent grove of beech and maple trees which cast their shade over the long wooden sheds, where the faithful horses were tied during meeting; while beyond is the peaceful burying ground, where simple headstones mark the last resting place of many of the pioneers of this district.

Lobo Meeting presently became one of the most progressive centres of Quakerism in Canada. In 1880 there was organized in the meeting a First Day School which has been carried on to the present day. In 1886 a most enterprising venture was launched in the publication of a monthly periodical called *The Young Friends' Review*. This little paper was made a forum for frank and courageous discussion on all kinds of interesting questions relative to the Society of Friends, and to current affairs in religion and politics generally.* The *Review* was published from 1886 to 1899; but as one who was closely connected with the paper and largely contributed to its success observed, "the arrangement of being farmers first and editors at leisure, or rather at pressure, did not always work harmoniously, and the little paper was given up, or rather transferred to Friends in New York, and after a few years it merged into the '*Friends' Intelligencer*, of Philadelphia'."† This little paper had, therefore, an interesting connection with *The Intelligencer*, which is to-day the foremost publication of the Hicksite Branch of Friends in America.

* The first editorial staff of *The Young Friends' Review* consisted of:
W. G. Brown, Managing Editor.

S. P. Zavitz, Coldstream, Treasurer and Business Correspondent.

Isaac Wilson, Bloomfield.

Lizzie Stover, Norwich.

Edgar M. Zavitz, Coldstream.

Serena Minard, Sparta.

The paper was printed by Cannon and Talbot, London, Ontario.
The price was fifty cents a year or five cents a single number.

† Edgar M. Zavitz, *The Society of Friends in Lobo Township*, p. 7.

Another interesting venture sponsored by Lobo Friends was a literary and debating society, established in the winter of 1875, which had the rather remarkable distinction of continuing in active operation for the next twenty-five years. This society was largely responsible for the establishment of a Public Library, with a selected list of over twenty-five hundred titles, of a Lecture Club (in 1882), which brought many eminent men to the community as lecturers, and of one of the first Farmers' Institutes in the Province of Ontario. In short, the "Olio" Society, as it was called, was the intellectual and literary centre of the whole community, as well as providing an opportunity for social intercourse and innocent amusement. Such was probably provided, for example, at a meeting of the Society in the home of Jacob Marsh, in 1891, when the principal feature of the evening's entertainment was "a lively and well sustained debate on: "Resolved, that a dirty, good-natured woman is better than a clean, scolding one", which was decided in favour of the negative.* One is tempted to ask, did that generation know better than this one that the capacity for real enjoyment is in one's self, and that it is not absolutely dependent on external or artificial aids, as seems to be the case in these days of commercialized amusements? At any rate, the young Friends at Lobo seem to have possessed the capacity of providing not only for their own amusement and intellectual advancement, but for that of the neighbourhood as well. No single meeting in the Society of Friends in Canada can show a more interesting record of achievement than this little group of Friends at Lobo. Moreover, out of this group came Charles A. Zavitz, Professor of Field Husbandry in the Agricultural College at Guelph, Ontario, who by his scientific attainments and skill in the field of agriculture has contributed materially to the food production of Canada and of the world.†

* *Young Friends' Review*, London, 1891, Nov. 4th, p. 56.

† In 1916 the University of Toronto conferred on Charles A. Zavitz the degree of D.Sc. for his distinctive attainments in Field Husbandry. He also served for many years as Clerk of Genesee Yearly Meeting.

After the laying down of Malahide Preparative Meeting in 1883, and of Pine Street in 1893, it was decided that since Lobo was by far the most active meeting in the Monthly Meeting, the name of Norwich Monthly Meeting should be changed to Lobo. Accordingly, in 1893, it became Lobo Monthly Meeting, as it is constituted at the present day, and as it still remains—the most progressive centre of the Hicksite Branch of Friends in Canada.

*Canada Half Year's Meeting, comprising:
Yonge Street, Pickering, West Lake Monthly Meetings*

Since in this part of Genesee Yearly Meeting the Hicksite Branch of Friends were numerically weaker than the Orthodox, the meeting house property was retained by the Orthodox branch of the Society in most of the monthly meetings within Canada Half Year's Meeting. Accordingly, several meetings were laid down altogether by the Hicksite Friends, or they were compelled to organize new meetings, to acquire new sites, and to build new meeting houses. In some instances this meant a very considerable drain on the resources of a little group in a rural community where ready money was often scarce, and where just the struggle for existence made heavy demands on individual time and energy. Though financial assistance in building a new meeting house was generally given by the Yearly or Half Year's Meetings, the principal burden was borne by the home meeting. There were further demands on the Canadian membership—especially just at this time—for assistance in building new meeting houses in the American meetings, as well as the responsibility of financing the work undertaken by the Yearly Meeting as a whole among the Indians on the reservations in Northern Nebraska, where entire tribes had been practically turned over to Friends as their wards by the United States Government. It will be seen, therefore, that the task of re-organization after the Separation, as well as the normal activities of the Yearly Meeting as a whole, placed a fairly heavy strain on the resources and initiative of this one branch of the Society

of Friends. In fact both branches of the Society suffered in this respect. Divided effort meant general loss of effectiveness and initiative all along the line.

Yonge Street Monthly Meeting

Since at the time of the Separation in Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, the Orthodox Friends were the stronger group, they had retained the meeting house property at Yonge Street. The Hicksite Friends were, therefore, under necessity of procuring some more permanent place of gathering than the meeting house stoop or the horse-shed which they had used on several occasions when debarred the use of the house itself. A new site was secured in 1829 on the northeast corner of William I. Phillips' farm in lot number eighty-nine in the first concession west of Yonge Street in King Township, where there was erected a frame building forty-four feet long, twenty-six feet wide, and with twenty foot posts, which was estimated to cost seven hundred dollars. W. L. Mackenzie, in his *Sketches of Canada and the United States*, notices the erection in 1830 of this meeting house,* which still stands, stark and white, on the west side of Yonge Street about two miles south of the present town of Newmarket. In 1870 one of the earliest First Day Schools within the limits of Genesee Yearly Meeting was established at Yonge Street.† It was discontinued for a few years, but again revived in 1891 at a time when a very earnest effort was being put forward to establish some definite system of religious education for the youth of the Society.

John Watson was the leading minister in Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. He was an Englishman, having been born near London in 1779, but he emigrated to Pennsylvania about 1802, where eventually he had gone into business for himself. After the failure of his business in 1827, he came to Canada to make a fresh start, and settled within the limits of Yonge

* W. L. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-128. "The Unitarian Quakers are building a meeting house in King."

† *Young Friends' Review*, 1891, vol. vi, p. 167, article by S. P. Zavitz.

Street Monthly Meeting. He had joined Friends before he came to Canada, about 1804; and in 1834 his gift in the ministry was acknowledged by his Monthly Meeting which he continued to serve faithfully until the time of his death in 1865.

Pickering Monthly Meeting

At Uxbridge and at Pickering, as the Orthodox Friends were in control, they retained the meeting house and property. Consequently a new meeting house was eventually built by Hicksite Friends at both of these places. The meeting house at Pickering was built about 1834. It was struck by lightning and completely destroyed (about 1876), but replaced by a substantial brick edifice which is still standing on the north side of the Kingston Road, two and a half miles east of Pickering village. The meeting house at Uxbridge was not built until about 1844. In 1842 Canada Half Year's Meeting reorganized Uxbridge and Pickering as "Pickering Monthly Meeting", which was held in alternate months at these two points. The scattering of the younger people into other districts, and the gradual decline of Pickering Monthly Meeting, made necessary further reorganization, when in 1886 Pickering was changed from a Monthly to an Executive Meeting. This change made possible the holding of the meetings at less frequent intervals than once every month for the transaction of what little business required to be done. At the present time there are no active meetings of this branch of Friends either at Uxbridge or at Pickering.

West Lake Monthly Meeting

In West Lake Monthly Meeting the Hicksite Friends, while numerically stronger than in Yonge Street, were still in a decided minority, so that, with the exception of the Green Point Meeting House, they lost control of practically all the property in this Monthly Meeting. In fact so few of the Hicksite Friends remained in Cold Creek and in Ameliasburg Preparative Meetings, and in Leeds and Adolphustown

Monthly Meetings, that they were all laid down outright by Canada Half Year's Meeting in 1829, and their scattered membership joined to that of West Lake Monthly Meeting. In 1840 Freeman Clarke, the most prominent of the Hicksites in Haldimand, moved to Norwich in Canada West, where this branch of the Society was the strongest; and in the following year Haldimand Preparative Meeting was laid down by authority of Canada Half Year's Meeting. Accordingly, the main centre of the Hicksite Friends in the Eastern part of Upper Canada was in Prince Edward County, at Green Point and West Lake, at which places a Monthly Meeting was held alternately for the next thirty-five years. A census of the membership of West Lake Monthly Meeting made in 1868 reported one hundred and seventy-one members on their list. Though the records show occasional additions of new members, these accessions never made up for the losses by death, by removal to other districts, or by disownment. In 1869 a First Day School organized at West Lake was continued for many years. The gradual decline of Green Point Meeting finally led to the laying down of the Preparative Meeting at this place (1873) and the holding of West Lake Monthly Meeting hereafter at Bloomfield (West Lake).

About 1834 or 1835, Hicksite Friends at West Lake had secured from Stephen White a new site for a meeting house, which was situated in lot number two in the first concession of the Township of Hallowel. This was just at the west end of the village of Bloomfield, on the old Danforth Road, about a mile above the original meeting house property that had been held by the Orthodox branch since the Separation in 1829. The new meeting house was the familiar style of oblong frame building, painted white, with a long stoop across the front, and the equally familiar "horse block" which, except for the agile, was very necessary when clambering either up to or down from the high buggies and spring wagons, called "democrats", which were in vogue in those days. Behind the meeting house were the indispensable long sheds for the horses, and behind them again the burying

ground—a deserted and vaguely disturbing place past which children instinctively hurried on dark nights, or when gathering dusk made ordinarily innocent objects acquire strange, shadowy shapes. Just across from the meeting house, and on the opposite side of the road, was the village school yard, in which stood the little red brick schoolhouse where several generations of children acquired the three R's, along with a healthy respect for the village dominie whose rod was at once the sign and the seal of his authority. At “recess” as the children played “turn-out-Jack” in the yard, or stormed the old woodshed which was “the jail”—wherein all the small boys were incarcerated after their capture by the big boys—they might observe just across the way a sober procession of Friends turning their “rigs” in at the Meeting House gate to attend the mid-week meeting, or perhaps a more awesome ceremony, a funeral.

The leading ministers of West Lake Monthly Meeting were David Barker and Isaac Wilson. Isaac Wilson's old home had been at Whitechurch, from which he had removed in 1868 to Bloomfield. A successful farmer and a good neighbour, he was, next to his old friend Sunderland P. Gardiner, the ablest and most influential minister in Genesee Yearly Meeting. In 1875 his gift in the ministry had been acknowledged by West Lake Monthly Meeting, and in the same year he undertook a religious visit to Scipio Monthly Meeting—the first of many later concerns for service of this kind. He ministered faithfully for many years to the group of Friends at West Lake, and also travelled extensively in the ministry throughout Canada and the United States. The rest of the time he worked on his farm at Bloomfield, earning, with the sweat of his brow, food and raiment for himself and family. His unselfish and devoted service did much to keep together the little isolated groups of Friends which constituted this Yearly Meeting. The later years of his life have been mostly spent within the limits of Baltimore Yearly Meeting.

In 1886 it was decided that in future Genesee Yearly Meeting should meet in joint session, whereby the men and

women would meet together in perfect equality to transact the business of the Yearly Meeting. Since by a curious coincidence the record book of the women's meeting was full, it was decided to enter in the record book of the men's meeting the minutes of the joint sessions held thereafter. Jonathan D. Noxon and Mary T. Freeman were chosen as Clerk and as Assistant respectively of the Yearly Meeting. On this interesting occasion, Sunderland P. Gardiner called the attention of Friends to the fact that their Society was the first religious group to acknowledge the equal rights of women. Growing out of this action, Canada Half Year's Meeting, held in the White Meeting House at Bloomfield in the following year (1887), sent to the Dominion Government what was probably the first petition ever presented to this government for an extension of franchise rights to the women of Canada to enable them to vote in Federal Elections.*

In concluding this brief survey, it might be pointed out that Genesee Yearly Meeting was one of seven Hicksite Yearly Meetings on the American Continent, namely: New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Genesee (Western New York and Canada), having a total membership in 1890, exclusive of the Canadian Meetings, of about 21,992. In 1905 the total membership of the American Yearly Meetings was about 20,848.†

The Hicksite branch of the Society of Friends has always been distinguished for its deep interest in philanthropic and moral reform. Its main emphasis has been on the practical or applied side of Christianity. A First Day School conference, which was held in 1868, was the beginning of a series of conferences held at more or less regular intervals, which gave a great impetus to the organized efforts of Friends in the direction of philanthropic and moral reform. In fact this event marked almost a new era in the development of the Society which hereafter was less concerned in preserving the ancient landmarks of a past generation than it was in making

* *Young Friends' Review*, 1887, Fourth Mo., Number 11, p. 131.
Minutes of Genesee Yearly Meeting, 1887.

† A. C. Thomas, *History of Friends*, op. cit., pp. 166-167.

its distinctive contribution as a religious society to the life and thought of its own day. The organization of First Day Schools in many of the Canadian meetings was a direct result of this new movement, which did much to enrich and to vitalize the life of the Society. As already noticed above, West Lake and Yonge Street were among the earliest meetings to organize—in 1869 and in 1870 respectively—a First Day School for their young people. A Friends' Union for Philanthropic Labour was first organized in Waynesville, Ohio, in 1882, and subsequently a regular succession of First Day School and Philanthropic Conferences has been held. Out of these efforts grew in time the Friends' General Conference, which, while having only advisory powers, has served to focus the extensive work of the seven Hicksite Yearly Meetings with respect to philanthropic and moral reform. The notable work of Friends on behalf of the Indians and Negroes will be dealt with more fully in another connection,* but the following list of the various committees organized by Genesee Yearly Meeting to take care of their philanthropic work will give some idea of the scope of their interests along these lines in more recent years:—The Committee for Purity and Demoralizing Publications; Temperance and Tobacco; Indian Affairs and Coloured People; Gambling, Lotteries and Kindred Vices; Prison Reform and Capital Punishment; Peace and Arbitration; Equal Rights (Suffrage). In all the fields of endeavour indicated above, this branch of the Society of Friends has done yeoman service.

When it is remembered that all these activities have been carried on by the Hicksite Friends with practically no permanent or salaried officials, and without a paid ministry at all, their achievement is all the more impressive. There are few religious denominations in which the average of intelligent interest and ability is higher, or in which there is a quicker and more sympathetic response to new currents of thought and progress than in this branch of the Society. The fact remains, however, that in spite of the fine record of Genesee

* See Chapter XV.

Yearly Meeting and of her sister Yearly Meetings during almost three-quarters of a century, there have not been accessions to their ranks during this period to offset their losses. While this is a cause for serious consideration, the Society of Friends has never been a proselytizing body, or overmuch concerned about mere numbers. There is much reason for believing that the notable experiment in "free spiritual helpfulness without demanded or expected consideration"* which has been so courageously demonstrated by this branch of the Society of Friends, will continue to have a large and helpful place in this day and generation, when "co-operation" seems to be more and more the watchword of progress both in national and international affairs. This group of Friends has stood pre-eminently for an ethical citizenship, and for service without expected or demanded pay in both church and state.†

* See, Epistle from New York Meeting to Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends, Sixth Month, 1901. *Minutes of Genesee Yearly Meeting, 1901*, p. 27. "From the rise of our Society the friendly philosophy has made of the concerned member, a conveyor . . . Friends promulgated the need of a *free spiritual helpfulness which without demanded or expected consideration* passes one's goods and graces on to his fellows . . . Thus must the living epistle forever stand forth as the best word of life to a weary world. . . . In a religious body like ours where co-operative effort is the centre of our system and service the only standard of value, we cannot afford to assume that the least has not his essential value as well as those of supposed larger gifts."

† See Appendix (c) Chart II., showing the meetings belonging to the Hicksite branch of Friends after the Separation of 1828.

CHAPTER XI

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE ORTHODOX BRANCH OF FRIENDS

*Pelham, Yonge Street, West Lake Quarterly Meetings,
Canada Yearly Meeting, 1867*

THE Orthodox Friends in Canada retained their official connection as a part of New York Yearly Meeting for thirty-nine years after the Great Separation of 1828. But the same year in which the Dominion of Canada was created, 1867, witnessed the establishing of an independent Yearly Meeting of the Society which took the name of "Canada Yearly Meeting of Friends". It is the main purpose of this chapter to outline the re-organization and development of the Orthodox Branch of Friends in Canada which led up to this event, though we shall carry our general survey down to the years just preceding the second Great Separation of 1881.

Pelham Quarterly Meeting

Since in Pelham Monthly Meeting the Hicksite Branch of Friends were in the majority at the time of the Separation, the Orthodox group was obliged to withdraw from the original meeting house and to re-organize a meeting elsewhere. The record of October, 1828, states that "whereas a number of Friends having identified themselves with those who have seceded from the principles of Friends and embraced the doctrine of Elias Hicks and not allowing Friends the privilege of holding meetings in the meeting house, therefore after solid consideration, Friends have removed to the house of Robert Spencer to hold our meetings there". In the following year a new meeting house was erected on property secured from Samuel Taylor. In 1865 this house was replaced by a brick



Samuel Taylor



Eliza Brewer



Pelham Meeting House

edifice, the meeting house at Pelham Corners as it stands to-day, which, with its adjoining house for the resident pastors, Fred and Olive Ryon, and its well kept burying ground, has a distinct place in the rural community which it serves.

Pelham Quarterly Meeting was first established in 1841 by authority of New York Yearly Meeting (Orthodox). This step had been suggested a number of years earlier, but did not become an accomplished fact till Ninth Month, 1841. The newly organized Quarterly Meeting of Pelham possessed the same powers as a Half Year's Meeting, and took in all the subordinate meetings of the Orthodox Branch in Canada West, including, therefore, Norwich as well as Pelham Monthly Meeting. Pelham Quarterly Meeting, during a period of fifty years after the first separation, shows evidence of slow but steady growth. Though additions to the ranks of the Society were not so numerous after about 1830, they more than kept pace with the natural losses, either through death or because of removals to districts so remote that contact with Friends was impossible. This was a frequent occurrence in a new country, and the cause of many losses in membership.

It has already been shown that the early growth of the Society of Friends in Canada was mainly due to the great Quaker Migration into the American Middle West between the years 1790 and 1820, and that those Friends who came to Upper Canada at this time constituted the merest trickle from that great flood of population. We find, therefore, that with the decline of Quaker Migration into the American West after 1820 the heretofore fairly rapid growth of the Society of Friends in Canada also materially declined. Moreover, by about 1840 the more primitive conditions of pioneer life in the older settled districts were beginning to pass away, with a corresponding change both in the appearance of the country and the condition of the people. Life generally was becoming less adventuresome and more settled and comfortable. "By this time many of the first settlers had ceased from their labours. But there were a good many left—old people now

who were quietly enjoying in their declining years the fruits of their early industry. Commodious dwellings had taken the places of the first rude houses. Large frame barns and outhouses had grown out of the small log ones. The forest in the immediate neighbourhood had been cleared away and well tilled fields occupied its place. Coarse and scanty fare had been supplanted by a rich abundance of all requisites that go to make a home a scene of pleasure and contentment. . . . The settled part as yet, however, formed only a very narrow belt extending along the bay and lake shores. The great forest lay close at hand in the rear, and the second generation had only to go a few miles to find it, and commence for themselves the laborious struggle of clearing it away.”*

After the decline of Quaker emigration from the United States there were, however, important accessions to the membership of the Society in Canada as the result of emigration from the British Isles. But since Dublin and London Yearly Meetings had recognized the Orthodox Branch rather than the Hicksite as the official body of the Society of Friends in Canada, those who had been associated with Friends in the old land upon coming to Canada became associated with the Orthodox Branch of the Society, and materially strengthened its ranks. In fact both Pelham and Norwich Monthly Meetings had important additions to their numbers as the result of these new settlers pushing back into the more remote districts of Puslinch and Eramosa Townships in the Wellington District, and of Oxford and Norwich Townships in the Brock District, there to take up new homes, to found new centres of Friendly influence, or to extend its borders.

A valuable addition to Norwich Monthly Meeting, for example, was the removal from England of John Treffry with his family of five sons and four daughters to the tenth concession of Norwich in the Spring of 1834. The diary† kept by

* Canniff Haight, *Country Life in Canada Fifty Years Ago*, Toronto, 1885, pp. 8-9.

† *The Diary of John Treffry*, April 4th, 1834 to 1839. (Unpublished). Parts of the diary have been used by W. L. Smith in *The Pioneers of Old Ontario*, Toronto, 1923, pp. 195-202.

John Treffry during the voyage out and the period during which he was trying to establish his family in a new country, gives a vivid picture of this later stage of pioneer life in Upper Canada. It was perhaps less heroic than the earliest stage which we have described, but none the less it demanded a high degree of determination and courage. The crowded, ill-ventilated ships, the poor food, the still more crowded inns, the rough roads, the weary search for a suitable location, and the initial labour of clearing, of building, and of sowing the first crop, are all admirably depicted in this diary. Upon arriving at Hamilton, after a long, tedious journey from Quebec to Toronto, *via* Bytown (Ottawa), the Rideau Canal, and Kingston, John Treffry began his search for a suitable location. While he and his oldest son conducted this search, the rest of the family found temporary lodgings "at Burgessees", about fifteen miles from Hamilton. These lodgings did not provide many comforts at five shillings per week. "There was no fire in the house, so that the women were obliged to cook on the ground without any cover overhead, until a kind neighbour came one morning and cut some crotches and poles as a support for some new boards for a roof. Our bread was baked in an iron kettle, which was often dough on one side and a burnt crust on the other. The owner of the house had a situation in Hamilton. His wife was a London dressmaker from England and knew nothing about cooking."

Meanwhile John Treffry and his oldest son ranged over the country as far northwest as Stratford, and as far west as Brantford, in the search for suitable land at a reasonable price. They arrived at Stratford just as it was getting dark. Though this was early in June, the wheat and oats had been destroyed in this district by the late frost, and they could get no hay to feed their faithful horses. The only tavern "was full of emigrants of all descriptions, and with difficulty we got two beds in the end of a large room which was filled with men, women, and children, spread so thickly about on the floor that we could scarcely get to our beds without stepping on them. As we had engaged with an agent to look at a spot in the morning,

we rose about four o'clock and took a walk around the town, which had been represented to us as being a growing place. It is true there is a grist mill, sawmill, and a store belonging to the Canada Company where most things can be bought for money, and some on credit; but the people said another store was much needed to keep prices within fair limits." Altogether they were not favourably impressed by what they saw; particularly were they discouraged by the prevalence of early frosts in this part of the Huron Tract, much of which was still covered with virgin forest. John Treffry decided, therefore, to return to the older settled district further south in the neighbourhood of Norwich. Here, through the kind assistance of the Lossings of Norwich, he secured lot number two in the tenth concession. It had been, he says, "a clergy reserve lot abandoned by a black man", but as about eight acres were already cleared, and it "appeared well watered and finely situated", he decided to make this his future home.

In June, 1834, John Treffry began the work of clearing the land and cutting the necessary timber for his house and sheds. By October of the same year the house was ready to shelter his family, the fall wheat was sown on the land already cleared, and young apple trees were secured for transplanting in the following spring. His foresight in this respect was amply rewarded, and though "he was told by some of his neighbors that he was too old to see his trees bear fruit, before he reached his seventieth year he saw one hundred bushels gathered from these trees."

Tragedy came to this happy home in the following year when the baby, Henry, aged three, while playing one afternoon near a pile of burning logs in the clearing, set fire to his clothes and was fatally injured. Death was not immediate. The little, quivering body was gently carried into the house and such remedies as were at hand applied. The simple words of the diary can best tell its poignant story:

"We washed him in sweet oil and then dusted him with flour and gave him six drops of laudanum which appeared to lull the pain. He was wonderfully patient and departed

in a most quiet manner . . . about midnight. The trial to his parents, brothers and sisters was very great. Yet we have abundant cause to be thankful to the Almighty for His mercy in removing him so soon, for had he lived until the following day his distressed state would have been beyond description, therefore we say, the Lord be praised and His will be done on earth as in heaven."

The ready sympathy of a rural community was at once in evidence on behalf of the bereaved family.

"Saturday, April 25th. Most of our friends and neighbors called to-day to sympathize with us on the melancholy event of the past night. Sunday, April 26th. Several of our kind neighbors called to see us in our troubled state. In the afternoon John Page brought the coffin, and we laid out dear child in it. Monday, Henry Wood, Jacob Barnes, William Sherwood and Joseph Barnes carried him across the woods and fields from our residence as far as Paulina Southwick's. Here we were met by most of the families in the neighborhood. After sitting a short time we set off in three wagons to the burial ground at the Friends' Meeting House, nine miles north and west from here, where we were met by our worthy friend Justice Wilson, who kindly had everything needful prepared. After sitting some time in the meeting house, we removed the corpse to the ground. All was done in a most quiet and peaceable manner. Several of the Friends in the neighborhood favoured us with their company, and on our return, our kind friends Benson Lossing and his wife had refreshments prepared for us."

There is something very touching about this simple narrative of a sorrow met with Christian resignation, and lightened by friendly love and sympathy.

In 1835 John Treffry's oldest son, John Treffry, Jr., married Mary Ann Southwick, a granddaughter of Peter Lossing, one of the earliest settlers in Norwich and an influential elder in Norwich Monthly Meeting. In this way the Treffrys came to be connected by marriage with one of the oldest Quaker families in the district.

Rockwood

Meanwhile a number of Friends, some from the north of England and from Ireland, had been pushing north into

the thinly settled townships of Puslinch and Eramosa. This little group formed the nucleus of what eventually became Rockwood Meeting. The first request for recognition was in 1834; but it was not till 1836 that Friends in Eramosa Township were finally granted an "indulged meeting" by authority of Pelham Monthly Meeting. Owing to some difficulty in the meeting it was discontinued in 1842; but again allowed in the following year. In 1846 two members, "Elizabeth North and her husband", were disowned by Pelham Monthly Meeting "for setting up a meeting contrary to the good order of Society"; and after this incident the harmony of the meeting appears to have been restored. A committee appointed in 1841 by the superior meeting of Pelham to visit Friends in Eramosa, made the following favourable report: "That their meetings for worship are regularly attended, the time observed, that they are careful for themselves and any under their care to maintain plainness of dress and address, that the scriptures of truth are daily read, that they are desirous to abstain from complying with military requisitions, and that some of them have suffered imprisonment and other hardships on that account." Finally in 1856, a Preparative Meeting was granted to Eramosa Friends, and was opened in the eighth month of the same year, with John Richard Harris as its first Clerk, and John Hill and Jacob Gainer the first trustees of the meeting house and burying ground. In the following year the name Rockwood, instead of Eramosa, first appears, and from this time was adopted as the name of the new Preparative Meeting.

John R. Harris, the first Clerk of Rockwood Meeting, was a prominent leader, not only in his own community but in the Society of Friends generally. His father, John Harris, from Cork, Ireland, and his mother, Jane Wetherald, from Yorkshire, had been among the first settlers in Eramosa and Puslinch Townships. In 1883 John R. Harris was acknowledged a minister of the Society, and about the same time began his long and able service as Clerk of Canada Yearly Meeting. His interest in education made him for years one

of the strongest supporters of the Friends' Seminary, established at Pickering in 1878 and long known as "Pickering College". He gave the site for the present brick meeting house at Rockwood, which was opened in Eighth Month, 1898. He was, in addition, an able business man and head of the Harris Woollen Mills, which for nearly sixty years was the principal industry of the village of Rockwood.

Another prominent member of Pelham Monthly Meeting, and closely associated with Rockwood, was William Wetherald. In 1835, at the age of fifteen years, he had come to Puslinch Township with his father, John Wetherald, a Yorkshireman, and his four sisters and three brothers. Naturally ambitious, but unfitted by his slight physique for the arduous toil of pioneer life, he determined to engage in educational work, but more especially to fit himself for the ministry to which he felt called when in his seventeenth year. The only formal education that he ever received was at Ackworth, a famous Quaker school in the north of England, which he had been compelled to leave, at the age of fifteen, when his family removed to Canada.

Many years after, at a meeting of the Ackworth Old Scholars' Association, William Wetherald spoke of his early experiences in Canada, and of his struggles to educate himself. He said at this time, that upon looking back on the education he had received while at Ackworth, he had not acquired much learning, but that he had learned how to learn, and to this he largely attributed any success that he afterwards attained. He then told of his experiences on that backwoods farm in Puslinch Township, up at daybreak every morning, chopping, fencing, digging, and at the same time eating out his very heart in his intense longing to acquire, by some means, an education. At last he made up his mind that he would study mathematics and the Bible, in order to develop his powers of logical thought and his knowledge of sacred literature. The difficulty was, however, that he had no books, and no money with which to buy them. He finally hit on a plan to make some money by selling axe handles.

That same evening when the day's work was done, he went to the woods and felled an elm tree which he split up, and eventually, with a jack knife and spoke-shave, he manufactured several axe handles. Early one morning with his bundle of axe handles over his shoulder, and hope in his heart, he tramped three miles through the woods to the rising town of Guelph. The merchant to whom he went had not yet opened shop, and greeting him at the door with surprise, asked why he came so early. "I have got these axe handles", William replied, "which I want to sell." As the merchant looked at the handles, his face too clearly betrayed his thoughts, and poor William suddenly realized that in spite of all his labour to produce these axe handles they were evidently very poor specimens in the opinion of an expert woodsman. Tears of disappointment filled his eyes, and for a moment his high hopes were dashed to the ground. The kind merchant, however, seeing the boy's distress and touched by his eagerness, asked him what he wanted for his handles. "I want", said William, "a Bible, a quire of paper, a steel pen and a little bottle of ink." "You shall have them", was the reply, "and I don't care if I sell your handles or not, you shall have what you require." His heart overflowing with gladness, William Wetherald ran most of the way home with his hard-earned treasures, and that very night after the chores were done, he began the ambitious project of compiling a reference Bible for his own use. Night after night for seven long years he laboured at this work, only to discover that he could buy a complete reference Bible at a comparatively cheap price. He never regretted his years of labour, however, which gave him a knowledge and mastery of the Scriptures possessed by very few men. He also secured books on mathematics and history, which he patiently mastered. At the end of a heavy day's work in the field or in the woods, after the chores were done, he would settle down to his studies, and, by the flickering light of a tallow candle, read far into the night. He said that for a period of seven years he did not get on an average over four hours of sleep each night.

At the age of twenty-three, William Wetherald secured his first school in Eramosa Township. He soon proved himself to be a particularly gifted teacher, and in 1850 he founded the Rockwood Academy, which was recognized as one of the best schools in Upper Canada. It was at this school that James J. Hill, the great railroad magnate, received part of his early education, and he long remembered with gratitude and affection his old master. William Wetherald accepted in 1864 the position of Superintendent of Haverford College, near Philadelphia; but in 1866 he returned to Upper Canada, where he settled with his family on a farm in Pelham Township. A number of years before this, his gift in the ministry had been acknowledged by Pelham Monthly Meeting; and for the remaining years of his life he gave himself to the work of the ministry both at home and abroad. The record of these unnumbered journeys, of these countless sermons, has never been kept, save in the hearts of those who heard him and loved him. Great loveliness and intense convictions were perhaps his salient characteristics. In delivery he was forcible, terse, full of impassioned fervour which frequently outran the limits of a not overstrong physical constitution. This capacity for enthusiasm, added to natural buoyancy of temperament, kept him youthful even in old age. While on a religious visit to England he died at Banbury in his seventy-eighth year. The gifted Canadian poetess, Ethelwyn Wetherald, is a daughter of William Wetherald, and in recent years she has been living at the old homestead in Pelham.

In 1868 another new meeting was established within the limits of Pelham Quarterly Meeting, at Becketts' Mills. The Beckett homestead had been for many years the centre of Friendly influence in this locality. Out of the "indulged meeting" established at this time there later grew Effingham Meeting, which was not, however, recognized as a Preparative Meeting till 1898—after the Separation of 1882. The meeting house at Effingham was built in 1878. It has long been regarded as a union meeting house for this locality, but the Friends in the first instance were the principal contributors

of funds for its maintenance, and have always controlled the activities which centre here.

In 1877, a new Preparative Meeting was established at Milldale, which was about five miles from Norwich. In 1879, another Preparative Meeting was established at Beaconsfield. Both these meetings were within the limits of Norwich Monthly Meeting, and as such were under the authority of Pelham Quarterly Meeting.

Meanwhile a number of Friends had settled in Hibbert Township, about forty-six miles northwest of Norwich, and likewise within the limits of Pelham Quarterly Meeting. In 1846 there were only ninety-five people in the whole township, and only one hundred and seventy-two acres under cultivation.* But by 1858 a number of Friends were evidently settled in the township, for in this year Jane Harris expressed her "concern to visit scattered Friends in Pelham Quarterly Meeting, especially some Friends residing in Hibbert." Out of this little group there developed Hibbert Preparative Meeting, which was formally established in 1882. Albert A. Colquhoun, the present member of the Provincial Parliament for Perth, has been connected for many years with this little meeting in Hibbert.

Yonge Street Quarterly Meeting

On leaving Pelham Quarter, and coming west to Yonge Street in the central part of Upper Canada, we find that Yonge Street Quarterly Meeting was not established till seven years after that of Pelham. In 1848, however, that portion of Canada Half Year's Meeting (Orthodox) which remained after the erection of Pelham Quarterly Meeting in 1841, was divided by New York Yearly Meeting into the two Quarterly Meetings of Yonge Street and of West Lake. Accordingly, at this time, the Half Year's Meeting disappeared altogether from the organization and annals of the Orthodox Branch of Friends in Canada.†

* W. H. Smith, *Canadian Gazetteer*, Toronto, 1846, p. 79.

† Canada Half Year's Meeting held at Yonge Street, 30-31/8/1838.

As we have already pointed out, the removal of Friends from the older settled districts into the back townships, and the arrival of new members from the meetings in the Old Land, were largely responsible for the expansion which occurred during this period. As a result several new Preparative Meetings were added to Yonge Street Quarterly Meeting, so that beside the Preparative Meetings of Yonge Street, Whitchurch, Uxbridge, and Pickering, which had existed at the time of the Separation in 1828, new meetings were to be established in the Townships of Tecumseth, Mariposa, Collingwood, Sydenham, St. Vincent, and Peel. The available information regarding meetings established during this period is very scanty. Many of the records have either been lost, or have fallen into private hands, and even when the records are available, little useful information can be obtained.

One of the first of the new meetings to be established within the limits of Yonge Street Quarter was in Tecumseth Township, which was situated just west of the Township of Gwillimbury and about fifteen miles west of Yonge Street. One of the first settlers in Tecumseth was Peter Doyle, who went into the Township about 1829. He was a wagon maker by trade, and manufactured the first vehicles on wheels used in this neighbourhood. The Nolans and Doyles were both Quaker families and among the earliest settlers in this Township.* About 1840 a meeting house was built in Tecumseth, which was probably the first Quaker meeting house in the township.

In 1845 a new Preparative Meeting was established in Mariposa Township, which was situated about fifty miles north and east of Pickering. Joseph Cody of Cambray was the first Clerk of the new Preparative Meeting, and also served for years as the Correspondent. The land on which the meeting house stood had been secured from Wing Rogers; and the first trustees for the property were John Cruess,

* A. F. Hunter, *History of Simcoe County*, Barrie, 1909, vol. ii, p. 33. Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 14/9/1826, records a removal certificate for Peter Doyle "from Carlow Monthly Meeting held at Ballitore, Ireland, 7/3/1826."

Aaron Powell, Peter Taylor, Robert Richardson. In 1861 a new meeting house was built in Mariposa, fifty feet long, thirty feet wide, twelve feet high. In 1864 the meeting had a flourishing First Day School and over eighty-seven regular members. The removal of several of the leaders in the meeting to other parts, and the later Separation of 1881, contributed to the decline of this Monthly Meeting, which was laid down in 1885.

Meanwhile to the north and west of Yonge Street towards the great Georgian Bay, three new Preparative Meetings had grown up in the adjacent Townships of Collingwood, St. Vincent and Sydenham, where Friends had settled sometime about 1850. These three Preparative Meetings constituted Grey Monthly Meeting, which was established by authority of Yonge Street Quarterly Meeting, and was opened at the Quaker meeting house in Collingwood in 1871. Harris Knight was the first Clerk for the day. Among the leaders in Grey Meeting were: Benjamin Moore, Cyrus Sing, Eli Rogers, Benjamin Wood, George Clark, Thomas Luton, William Rorke, and Hiram Bond. These were among the first settlers in this section of the province, and a considerable portion of their number had originally been members of Yonge Street Monthly Meeting. The meeting house at Sydenham was built about 1866, while Sydenham was still a part of Yonge Street Monthly Meeting.

St. Vincent was an indulged meeting till 1885, when it was made a Preparative Meeting, and called Morley Preparative Meeting. The meetings were somewhat irregularly held till 1891, when the Preparative Meeting was discontinued, though a meeting for worship was maintained here for a few years afterward.

There was also an indulged meeting in Peel Township, which was situated a little west of Rockwood Preparative Meeting, in Eramosa. In 1877, Friends in Peel wished to be united with Rockwood, to which they were much nearer than Yonge Street, to form a new Monthly Meeting; but the request was not granted, so that Peel retained its connection with Yonge Street Quarterly Meeting.

West Lake Quarterly Meeting

The task of reorganizing the meetings that belonged to the Orthodox Branch of Friends in West Lake Monthly Meeting was not very great after the Separation of 1828, owing to the fact that since the Orthodox Group were in the majority they retained control of all the subordinate meetings of West Lake Monthly Meeting with the single exception of Green Point. As we have already seen, however, what was left of Canada Half Year's Meeting after the erection of Pelham Quarterly Meeting in 1841 had been divided by authority of New York Yearly Meeting in 1848, into the two separate Quarterly Meetings, of West Lake and of Yonge Street. But since the bulk of the membership of the new Quarterly Meeting of West Lake was to be found in the prosperous and comparatively long-settled County of Prince Edward,* such expansion as occurred within the limits of West Lake Quarterly Meeting was in the still sparsely settled districts to the north of the Bay of Quinte, in the Townships of Murray, Thurlow, Huntingdon, and further west in Haldimand Township.

It will be recalled that both in Haldimand Township and in Murray (Cold Creek), meetings had been established by West Lake Monthly Meeting just about the time of the disastrous Separation of 1828, which coming, as it did, at this initial stage in their development, was a serious drawback to the growth of Friendly influence in these districts. This appears to have been especially true in the case of Haldimand Meeting, which never recovered from the shock of the Separation. After the removal of Freeman Clarke in 1840 to Norwich, where the Hicksite Friends were materially stronger, a meeting in Haldimand was discontinued in 1841, and its members were attached to West Lake Monthly Meeting.

* *The First Census of Canada, 1851-52*, credits Prince Edward County with 1,364 members of the Society of Friends. This would, of course, include those of the Hicksite branch as well. West Lake Preparative Meeting and Ameliasburg Preparative Meeting held at Bloomfield and Wellington respectively, were the two principal meetings comprising the Orthodox Branch of West Lake Monthly Meeting.

But in spite of the withdrawal of the Hicksite Friends from Haldimand Meeting, the Orthodox remnant carried on with increasing difficulty. In 1843 it was decided to hold Haldimand Preparative Meeting at Cold Creek, in order to secure the co-operation and assistance of Friends in this Township. In 1847 a concern was expressed in West Lake Monthly Meeting to appoint a committee to visit Haldimand Preparative Meeting "on account of the low state of that meeting." In 1855 another committee recommended that Haldimand Preparative Meeting be laid down altogether, and its membership joined to that of Cold Creek Preparative Meeting, which was accordingly done in 1855.

Cold Creek Meeting, in Murray Township, had also been established just a few years before the Separation of 1828, and like the neighbouring meeting in Haldimand, was rather upset during the immediately succeeding years. Cold Creek was, however, finally reorganized as a Preparative Meeting in 1843, and for some time after this it showed evidence of steady growth. About 1857 a new meeting house was erected by Cold Creek Meeting to accommodate its growing membership. In time there came to be associated with Cold Creek, not only Haldimand but two other meetings in the adjacent townships of Thurlow and Huntingdon, where Friends also had been settling.

As far as can be ascertained, the beginning of Thurlow was an "indulged meeting" allowed by West Lake Monthly Meeting in 1834, "in a certain schoolhouse in the eighth concession near John Phillip's", which was placed under a Monthly Meeting Committee consisting of Samuel Baker, Vincent Bowerman, Jonathan Clarke, Arnoldi Dorland, Cornelius Bowerman, John D. Haight, Isaac Bowerman, Aaron White, Gilbert Dorland, Jonathan Bowerman, and Willet Casey. An "indulged meeting" appears to have been held in Thurlow for a number of years, but its members were attached for purposes of business and discipline first to West Lake Monthly Meeting and later, in 1868, to Cold Creek Monthly Meeting.

Friends in the adjoining Township of Huntingdon received recognition as an indulged meeting about the same time as Thurlow. For a number of years an indulged meeting had been allowed by West Lake Monthly Meeting in the house of Samuel Baker, Jr. In 1840, Friends in Huntingdon appointed William Mullett, Jr., and Samuel Baker, Jr., as trustees of their meeting house property, which was situated on lot number twelve in the first concession of Huntingdon. It was soon after this that the first Quaker meeting house was built in this district. In 1855, Huntingdon was recognized by West Lake Monthly Meeting as a regular Preparative Meeting; while three years later (1858) the meetings of Haldimand, Thurlow, and Huntingdon were joined with Cold Creek to form a new Monthly Meeting, called Cold Creek Monthly Meeting, which, it was decided at this time, was to meet eight months in the year at Cold Creek, and the remaining four at Huntingdon.

At this time Huntingdon was an important centre of the Society of Friends. The gifted Quaker minister, Elizabeth L. Comstock, who resided within the limits of this meeting for three years, throws considerable light in her letters of this period on the life of a Quaker community.* Prosperity and unbounded hospitality were in evidence on every hand. Huntingdon meeting Elizabeth Comstock describes at this time, as "consisting of from ninety to a hundred members, some of them living ten or twelve miles off." She adds, "They think nothing of that to ride, but a walk of a mile frightens them." Elizabeth Comstock gives an interesting description of one of

* C. Hare, *Life and Letters of Elizabeth L. Comstock*, Philadelphia, 1895, chap. iv, "Early Impressions of Canada, 1854-1857." It was during her three years' sojourn in Canada that Elizabeth Comstock—or Wright as she was then—first received acknowledgment of her gift in the ministry. In 1858, after her marriage to John T. Comstock, she removed to Rollin, Michigan, where she began her lifelong work on behalf of the downtrodden and oppressed, especially the American Negro. She had an active part in the famous Underground Railway, and after the Civil War she did much on behalf of the Freedmen in the State of Kansas. Her visits to numberless prisons, her personal interviews with numerous State Governors, and with two Presidents, are only a few incidents in a useful and extraordinarily varied career.

the first Quaker homes which she visited after her arrival in Canada, and she also describes her host, William Mullett, a leading member of Huntingdon Meeting:

"He is a plain and consistent Friend, quite English in his manners, language and appearance, a well-educated farmer. He is a gray-haired man of fifty-five, very active, and quite in his prime. His wife (Eliza Mullett) is his junior by ten years, but looks rather more nearly approaching being worn out; a motherly, kind-hearted woman, thin, working far too hard for her station and her means. But she seems to be most happy when actively engaged in her kitchen or dairy. . . . This house is a square, stone building, very strong and pretty-looking. The front has a balcony or colonnade, all along. On entering the house, we come at once into a sort of hall, or keeping (living) room of the family, a plain, substantial, comfortable room, sixteen feet by eighteen feet, ten feet high. It has two windows and six doors. One of the latter opens to the yard in front, and to the stairs, one to side, one to the kitchen, and three into the bedrooms on the ground floor. Upstairs is a square room of the same size, from which three bedrooms open, and the stairs. A kitchen, pantry, cupboard, outhouses, etc., complete this specimen of a farm house in West Canada. The table is heaped with abundance of all that is good; cream, butter and eggs of the best quality in particular. The floors are painted or stained oak, not a carpet to be seen in the house, all beautifully clean. . . . They have a good many fine horses on the farm on purpose for riding. The plowing is done by oxen. They pay sixpence per annum tax for a horse, *i.e.*, 4½d. English. Mutton is selling here at 3d. a pound, beef, prime joints, 4d.; apples and potatoes so plentiful that a person may almost have them for asking. Eggs used to be 3d. a dozen, they are now 5d., very good and fine ones; good cheese 4½d. Flour is higher now than it has ever been known, owing to the great demand for the English and French markets. . . . William Mullett and wife belonged to a very large family—their fathers are both living, fine old men, 85 and 87. One of them tells me his children and grandchildren number 96. They have intermarried very much, three sons of one family having married three daughters of another. They all seem to live in the greatest unity, harmony and love. The old folks emigrated from Somersetshire thirty-five years ago, some of the family from Ireland. They brought over a small lot of merchandise with them, sold it at a profit and with the money

bought land. They had not been accustomed to farming, but thought it a pleasant change after applying closely to a shop. They say that in Canada it takes a very short time to learn how to farm, and if a man is willing to work, he cannot help succeeding, so little labour being required to make a farm produce the necessaries of life. . . . Solomon Vermilyea at whose house we hope to spend the morrow and will kindly drive us to meeting, says that farming is the best trade in this country, that he has cleared £300 per annum for some time past, after providing abundantly for his large family of twelve children. He thinks no previous knowledge needful, to enable a man to get a living in this land, but with a previous knowledge, he may soon get rich. This Friend is renowned for his hospitality. He likes to see his house full of visitors—often has twelve at a time under his roof."

Elizabeth Comstock makes continual reference to the prevailing friendliness and hospitality :

"We have met with kindness and courtesy from all classes since landing on these shores. Whoever we speak to gives us a kind reply. Women here seem to be treated with much greater respect than in England. . . . At the close of the last Monthly Meeting the wife of one of the substantial farmers of West Lake came to me and said, 'How glad I am thou art come ! My husband says whenever thou canst get to Monthly Meeting he will take thee back, if thou hast no other way, and if thou wilt write and tell us whenever thou wants to come and has *no chance*, he will go and fetch thee.' Is not this kind ? He lives nearly thirty miles off the nearest way, that is across the bay when it is frozen over, so that we can cross in a sleigh. When that is not the case, it will be a journey of nearly fifty miles. . . . You would enjoy this bright, clear, bracing air ; it makes one feel all alive. . . . We quite enjoy the winter. The sleigh rides are delightful. We very often have the offer of a ride into the country and frequently accept it to get to meeting."

The present meeting at Wooler is all that remains to-day of the four Preparative Meetings of Haldimand, Thurlow, Huntingdon, and Cold Creek, which down to the Separation of 1881 comprised this at one time flourishing Monthly Meeting of Cold Creek. As the records for these individual meetings are largely missing, it is impossible to generalize too confidently on the reasons for their decline. But as in other

instances which we have noted, removals to new districts, disownments, and the later disastrous Separation of 1881, were probably the immediate causes of the decline of the Society of Friends in this district.

Continuing our survey of West Lake Quarterly Meeting, and proceeding from Cold Creek and Thurlow, east and south along the Bay of Quinte, we come to the oldest meeting in this section of Upper Canada at Adolphustown. Just three years before the Separation, in 1825, Adolphustown had been made a part of the newly established Monthly Meeting of Leeds. In the face of an overwhelming adverse majority the Hicksite Friends made no attempt to carry on the meeting, either in Adolphustown or in Leeds. The result was that Adolphustown Meeting was retained by the Orthodox Branch as a part of the newly established Monthly Meeting of Leeds. The year 1841, when Kingston Preparative Meeting came under the authority of Leeds Monthly Meeting, may also have been the time when Adolphustown Preparative Meeting came back under the control of West Lake. No satisfactory evidence has yet come to light explaining just how or when this change occurred. The fact remains, however, that in 1861 the business of Adolphustown again appears on the minutes of West Lake Monthly Meeting. It was decided by the Monthly Meeting at this time that a new fence should be erected around the burying ground at Adolphustown; and accordingly, a committee was appointed to look after this matter. Four years later the question of repairs to the old meeting house was brought up in West Lake Monthly Meeting, and after careful consideration of the subject, it was decided, owing to the dilapidated condition of the old meeting house, to erect a new building altogether on the same site.

The old Adolphustown meeting house had been standing for almost seventy years, and was beginning to show the ravages of time. Canniff Haight, as a boy, attended the meeting with his father and mother, and after visiting the old meeting house many years later, has given the following

description of the building which was without question one of the most historic buildings of its kind in the province.*

"It was a wooden building standing at a corner of the road, and was among the first places of worship erected in the Province. The effects of the beating storms of nearly half a century were stamped on the unpainted clapboards, and the shingles, which just projected far enough over the plate to carry off the water, were worn and partially covered with moss. One would look in vain for anything that could by any possibility be claimed as ornament. Two small doors gave access to the interior, which was as plain and ugly as the exterior. A partition with doors, that were let down during the time of worship, divided the room into equal parts, and separated the men from the women. It was furnished with strong pine benches with backs; and at the far side were two rows of elevated benches, which were occupied on both sides by leading members of the Society. I have often watched the row of broad brims on one hand, and the scoop bonnets on the other, with boyish interest, and wondered what particular thing in the room they gazed at so steadily. . . . The gravity of the audience and the solemn silence were very impressive; but still recollections of the past crowded from my mind the sacred object which had brought the people together. Now I looked at the old bayonet marks in the posts, made by the soldiers who had used it as a barracks immediately after the war of 1812. Next, the letters of all shapes and sizes cut by mischievous boys with their jack knives in the backs of the seats years ago arrested my attention, and brought to my mind how weary I used to get; but as I always sat with my father, I dared not try my hand at carving. Then I thought of a great Quaker preacher and author, Joseph John Gurney, whom I had heard in this room, and of J. Pease, the philanthropic English banker."

Canniff Haight's reference to these two distinguished Quaker ministers from England, whom he heard in the old

* Canniff Haight, *Country Life in Canada Fifty Years Ago*, Toronto, 1885, pp. 258-260. This volume also contains an interesting sketch (page 58) of the old meeting house. The only authentic picture of the meeting house that I have discovered is printed in a rare pamphlet by Thomas W. Casey, *The Earliest Quakers on the Bay of Quinte* (no date), Napanee. This picture shows an oblong frame building with two windows and two doors on the front—for the men's side and the women's side respectively—and two windows at the end. It has a shingled roof, with a chimney in the centre. The building rests on a foundation made of flat stones. The new building, erected in 1868, was of slightly different dimensions, being thirty-six feet long, twenty-four feet wide, and twelve feet high.

Adolphustown Meeting House years ago, is interesting, though his recollection of them is slightly confused. It was Joseph John Gurney, of Norwich, not John Pease, who was connected with a great English banking institution at this time. The visit of Joseph John Gurney to Canada in 1838 and the great influence of this distinguished Friend on the thought and life of the Society will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

John Pease (1797-1868) was a son of Edward Pease, of Darlington, who with George Stephenson projected the first public railway in England—the famous Stockton and Darlington Railway, opened in 1825. John Pease was an active associate with his father in these operations, and one of the original directors of this first railway. He travelled extensively in the ministry, receiving from his Monthly Meeting no fewer than forty-six certificates for religious services at home and abroad. When he visited Canada he was engaged in an extensive religious mission, which lasted about two years, among the meetings on the American Continent. He was a leader in educational undertakings, and an early champion of Bible or First Day Schools in the Society of Friends. His brother, Joseph Pease, was the first Quaker Member of the British Parliament in 1833, and the first to be admitted on affirmation instead of taking the oath.

The decay and eventual disappearance of the old meeting house at Adolphustown was symbolic of the gradual decline of the meeting itself, which, as a matter of fact, did not survive the old meeting house by many years. By this time most of the original Quaker families had moved away to other parts, others had joined the Methodists who had always been particularly strong in this district, while many of the former heads of the meeting now lay in the adjoining grave yard. In 1869, the meeting was placed under the care of a Monthly Meeting Committee; but the meeting was held so irregularly that in 1871 it was decided to lay down the meeting altogether. In 1897 the meeting house was disposed of to Mr. J. W. Roblin, the then owner of the old Dorland farm. The last use made of the meeting house was, sad to say, as



The Old Meeting House, Adolphustown



A Country School House

an implement shed. Inasmuch as the property was no longer used by the religious Society of Friends, it apparently reverted to the possessor of the original title deed. The old burying ground has lain unused and neglected for years. Thomas W. Casey, formerly of Adolphustown, writing about twenty years ago, said: "There are few headstones left remaining legible, among them are the representatives of four generations of John Dorland's family, some of the Barkers, Ingersolls, Clapps, Haight, Caseys, Weeks, and some others, whose names and memories were long revered."* There is, therefore, very serious danger that in a few more years nothing will remain to mark this historic spot of ground where lie buried some of the earliest pioneers of Upper Canada. Indeed, in many a neglected corner of Ontario to-day, there is the sad possibility that soon "the alien plow" will pass over the last resting places of once honoured but now "unremembered dead".

"We are the old, the unremembered dead—
 Forgotten, we lie
 In country graveyards high on lonely hills ;
 We are unwept save by such tears as sheds
 The weeping sky.

Above old, huddled graves in city streets, sometimes
 A passer finds
 The time to pause and sigh—remembering.
 But none pass by us here. Above us sigh
 Only the winds.

The hands that laid us here long, long are dust ;
 The passionate tears
 Shed then for us are dried ; the faltering feet
 That followed us in grief have now lain still
 Unnumbered years.

And stranger hands now till the fields we cleared ;
 Strange voices ring
 Beneath the roofs we raised ; beneath the trees
 We planted, strange young lovers make their vows
 Each passing spring.

The alien plow that draws so near, so near
 Disturbs our rest—
 Here in our sunken and neglected graves,
 We stir—yet well we know that there is none
 Who will protest.

* T. W. Casey, *The Earliest Quakers, etc., op. cit.*

We are unclamouring—we only ask
 That we may lie
 Safe from the plow that threatens our old graves—
 Covered by vines, mourned by the passing winds,
 Wept by the sky.

—*Roselle Mercier Montgomery*

Kingston Monthly Meeting

Continuing eastward from Adolphustown to Kingston Township, we find another centre of re-organization and expansion within the limits of West Lake Quarterly Meeting. Since 1801 Kingston had been recognized as a Preparative Meeting, and at the time of the Separation in 1828 the Friends of this meeting had identified themselves with the Orthodox Branch of the Society. In 1841, Kingston Preparative Meeting was joined to Leeds Monthly Meeting; but a few years afterwards, owing to the expansion of Friends into the adjoining Townships of Camden and Storrington, Kingston was made a Monthly Meeting in 1855. At this time it was decided that the Monthly Meeting was to be held four times a year at Camden, and the rest of the time at Kingston.* On the occasion of the opening of the new Monthly Meeting, the Friends "were tenderly advised and encouraged to be diligent in the attendance of all the meetings, and there to wait upon the Lord with full meditation of heart, whereby they may know their spiritual strength to be renewed and ability given, to support the Monthly Meeting which is now granted to the honour of His great name, and to the everlasting peace of our own souls". Camden Preparative Meeting had been first established in 1844 by West Lake Monthly Meeting; and in 1851, the first meeting house of substantial dimensions had been built in the township. It was in this meeting house that the first session of the newly established Kingston Monthly Meeting was held in 1855. Camden was for a number of years

* The Quarterly Meeting Committee which was appointed to assist in the opening of Kingston Monthly Meeting were : James Haight, Vincent Bowerman, Cornelius Bowerman, Eliza Brewer, Jane Cronk, Elizabeth Wright (afterwards Comstock), Phoebe Cronkite, Abigail Hubbs, Elizabeth Mullett, Deborah Bowerman.

a flourishing meeting. But a large number of removals from the township to Prince Edward County and to the new townships which were opening up in Canada West, seems to have so reduced the meeting that in 1873 it was laid down, and its remaining members were attached to Kingston Monthly Meeting. From this time on the Monthly Meeting was held entirely at Kingston, the original centre of Friendly influence in this district. The meeting house in Kingston was situated in the present village of Cataraqui; and its burying ground, after the laying down of the Monthly Meeting sometime after the Separation of 1881, was the nucleus of the present Cataraqui Cemetery—the general burying ground for the city of Kingston, and one of the most beautifully situated and best cared for cemeteries in the Province.

In 1881, just after the Separation of that year, Camden Meeting was revived under the name of Moscow Preparative Meeting. It has ever since, with some ups and downs, been a centre of Friends' work and interests.

From the earliest days of Quaker settlement in Upper Canada, there had been a few scattered Friends in the Township of Ernestown; and in 1871 there was evidently a little group meeting in the house of David Hartman, which was recognized as an indulged meeting under the care of Kingston Monthly Meeting. This never, however, became an organized centre of Friends. Another indulged meeting was allowed by Kingston Monthly Meeting at the house of John M. Hodgson, in 1868. Out of this little meeting, and largely through the efforts of the Hodgsons and the Webbs, there developed, several years after the Separation of 1881, the Preparative Meeting of Sunbury. In 1872 Kingston Monthly Meeting was reported as having 107 members. For many years Jonathan P. Ward and John M. Hodgson served Kingston Monthly Meeting as its Clerks.

Passing to Leeds in the extreme eastern limits of West Lake Quarterly Meeting, little can be said with certainty about the Friends in this district, as most of the records of the meeting have disappeared. It will be recalled, however, that Leeds

had been established as a Monthly Meeting in 1825, and that this meeting at the time of the Separation of 1828 had identified itself with the Orthodox Branch. Down to about 1841, Adolphustown had been a part of Leeds Monthly Meeting, but by 1861, as already noted above, it was back under the care of West Lake Monthly Meeting. As far as appears, therefore, Leeds Preparative Meeting held at Farmersville (Athens) was the only subordinate meeting within this Monthly Meeting. For a number of years West Lake Quarterly Meeting was held once a year at Farmersville; and between the years 1831 and 1850 there was apparently a flourishing Quaker community in this district. The Wiltsies, Brewers, Bakers, Derbyshires, Cornells, Robesons, Wings, were among the leading Quaker families in this Monthly Meeting. For a number of years Leeds was fortunate in possessing some particularly active and well-known ministers of the Society, in the persons of Eliza Brewer, her husband, Johnson Brewer, and Harvey Derbyshire.

Eliza Brewer was one of the most able woman ministers in this branch of the Society of Friends. In the course of her many religious concerns she travelled widely in Canada and the United States, and made, in 1852, a religious visit to Ireland and England. The penitentiary at Kingston also claimed her concern in 1846; though there is no satisfactory evidence in the records to show whether or not she was able actually to accomplish her aim in this direction. She died, second month, 1894, in her eighty-third year, at the home of her son-in-law, Alexander Derbyshire, in Bloomfield, Ontario.

Owing to disownments, losses to other religious sects, and removals to new districts, the Leeds meeting seems to have been considerably reduced by about 1856. In this year Elizabeth L. Comstock (then Wright) visited many of the families within the limits of Leeds Monthly Meeting. She intimates that the meeting was already on the decline. "There are not many Friends there. Two families, the most intelligent, wealthy and influential, have become Spiritualists; (the others seem to be following them) one, a medium, has

commenced speaking in meeting and preaches spiritual doctrines. A committee of six men and four women are appointed to visit them and give them 'such assistance as our place in the body and their state requires'."* This opinion may have been unduly pessimistic, but it at least is evidence of a tendency towards disintegration.

The Separation of 1881 hastened the decline of Leeds Monthly Meeting. In 1895 the few Friends of the Orthodox Branch who remained were apparently regarded as belonging to Kingston Monthly Meeting, so it was probably about this time that the meeting of the Orthodox Friends in Leeds was laid down altogether.

This survey of the three Quarterly Meetings which comprised the Orthodox Branch of Friends in Canada, shows that the years of reorganization and development between 1828 and 1880 had been, on the whole, years of progress. During this period we have traced the rise of thirteen new Preparative Meetings and of three new Monthly Meetings—two in Yonge Street Quarter, and one in West Lake Quarter. The statistics of the three Quarterly Meetings in 1867 show 566 families and parts of families, 355 children of school age and 1515 members. During this period First Day Schools had also been organized in many of the meetings. The report on First Day Schools in 1867 indicated thirteen schools, sixty-eight teachers and four hundred and fifty-four scholars. In 1879 there were 1,389 scholars enrolled in First Day Schools and 1,586 members of the Society.

The efforts of the Society with respect to education during this period were also noteworthy. In 1841 Friends had opened, near Bloomfield, within the limits of West Lake Monthly Meeting, a boarding school for boys and girls, which in 1854 had 110 boarders, 63 boys and 47 girls, besides a score or more of day pupils. In 1850, within the limits of Pelham Quarterly Meeting, William Wetherald had begun his Academy at Rockwood. While the majority of Friends' children attended the ordinary district schools, those who wished to send their

* *Life and Letters of Elizabeth Comstock, op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.

children to boarding school but could not afford to do so, were assisted by a special fund, part of which was raised by the Quarterly Meetings and part by outside donations from American and English Friends. The efforts of this little religious group on behalf of education at this time were altogether out of proportion to their numbers. For not only did they assure every child within the Society the opportunity of an education, but they also extended these facilities to other children as well. In fact, so many outside the Society sought to avail themselves of the educational advantages offered by Friends that at one time it was seriously considered whether the boarding school at West Lake should not be made "select", or in other words whether only Friends' children should be admitted. After the sale of the boarding school property at West Lake, the Society reopened the school at Pickering in 1878—a co-educational school known as Pickering College. This school was also opened to children of other denominations, and for many years it made a valuable contribution to the educational life of the Province.

In carrying out the educational, philanthropic, and religious work of the Society of Friends, the demands upon individual means and time were exceptionally heavy. The success of their work depended largely upon co-ordinated, individual effort, which demanded the highest qualities of team play. Frequently these demands were too great, and then there might be a serious failure. Nevertheless, the degree of co-ordination obtained was really quite remarkable, especially when it is remembered that there were at this time no professional leaders or salaried ministers in the Society. In fact, what we might regard as a weakness was probably a source of strength to the Society in these early years. For undoubtedly the simplicity and economy with which the meetings of the Society were maintained, a free ministry, and the absence of expensive organization, had a strong appeal in essentially rural communities where economy, learned in a hard school of experience, and individualism were predominating characteristics. In this connection it might also be

pointed out that there was not a single Friends' Meeting in a city or town of any size in all Upper Canada. While there were none who possessed large fortunes in the Society of Friends in Canada at this time, the average of individual well-being and comfort was exceptionally high. Friends were generally distinguished by their industry, sobriety, and solid integrity; while the communities in which they lived were among the most prosperous agricultural districts in the whole Dominion.

Canada Yearly Meeting, 1867

It was quite natural that with the development of the Orthodox Branch of Friends in numbers and in influence, and that in accordance with the political and economic development of Canada itself, the idea of a separate Yearly Meeting of Friends in Canada should have arisen. It is significant that this achievement should have been attained in 1867, the year of the establishment of the Dominion of Canada.

The first suggestion of a Yearly Meeting of Friends in Canada appears to have arisen some sixty years before the event, or as early as 1807, when it was proposed in Yonge Street Monthly Meeting that representatives of the three Monthly Meetings of Pelham, Yonge Street, and Adolphus-town should "lay before the Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia and New York out of which we are descended, whether it might not be consistent with the openings of truth for us to be united and placed in the capacity to meet together twice a year—once in the manner of a Quarterly Meeting, and once in that of a Yearly Meeting, in order to decide on appeals and other matters of weight and importance in the church or in whatever other ways may seem most consistent with Divine Business".* This suggestion was not acted upon, however, but instead, as we have already seen, Canada Half Year's Meeting was established in 1810 by authority of New York Yearly Meeting, and was granted at this time the powers of a Quarterly Meeting. In 1853 the proposal of a Canadian

* *Minutes of Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 15/1/1807.*

Yearly Meeting was again revived, but no action was taken. The same thing occurred again in 1861. In 1863, when the proposal was once more made, a committee was appointed by the superior meeting to visit Canada Half Year's Meeting, but an unfavourable opinion was returned to the effect "that the way did not appear to open with sufficient clearness and unity of judgment". To make a long story short, after the question had hung fire for twelve years more, New York Yearly Meeting finally appointed another committee to visit the meetings in Upper Canada, which, after fulfilling this mission, expressed as their opinion (though it was not unanimous) "that the cause of Truth and the interests of our Religious Society would be promoted by establishing a Yearly Meeting in Canada in compliance with the requests of Friends in that Province". New York Yearly Meeting thereupon gave the necessary authorization, allowing the three Quarterly Meetings of Pelham, Yonge Street, and West Lake to send representatives the following year to meet at Pickering in the capacity of an independent Yearly Meeting.

This parting of the ways was not accomplished without solemn thoughts and sincere regrets on both sides, which the minute recording the incident expressed in the following words: "In this parting with our dear Friends with whom we have been accustomed many years to meet in council in the cause of the church, we desire thankfully to acknowledge that we have been enabled so long to labour together in love, and we earnestly desire that He who is God over all, blessed forever, will be with them in this responsible engagement, to guide them and comfort them with His holy presence."

On the sixth day of the week and the twenty-eighth day of Sixth Month, 1867, representatives* from the three Quar-

* The names of the representatives appointed to the first Yearly Meeting in 1867 were: Pelham Quarter—Henry Sutton, Jesse Stover, John Ray, John Palmer, Jonathan H. Rogers, William Spencer, William Wetherald, Albert C. Stover; Yonge Street Quarter—Clayton Webb, Thomas Moore, James Richardson, Peter Taylor, Ira Clark, Richard Dale; West Lake Quarter—William Robinson, Anthony Haight, Esli Terrill, John R. Hodgson, William Yourex, William Valentine, Thomas Robinson, Joseph Wiltsie.

terly Meetings convened in the recently remodelled brick meeting house at Pickering, Ontario, to hold the first session of Canada Yearly Meeting of Friends. Ten representatives were appointed by the Mother Yearly Meeting of New York to attend the opening session and to assist by their counsel and presence. There were also present at this time representatives from the other Yearly Meetings of the Orthodox Branch of Friends to welcome this latest addition to the family circle of Yearly Meetings on the American Continent.

Alma G. Dale, as a girl of thirteen, attended the first sessions of Canada Yearly Meeting, and has recorded fifty years afterwards her vivid impressions of this occasion:

"My only remembrance of the business sessions was their length and the pleasure that followed as we drove to the homes of the dear friends whose hospitality we enjoyed, for all homes were open and all visitors made welcome. The sessions opened at 10 a.m., and often lasted till 1.30 to 2 p.m., and when too tired to sit any longer, I went out and spent my time under the great trees in the grounds.

"The First Day gatherings were wonderful to me. We were early at the meeting house and watched what seemed a never-ending stream of carriages, buggies, farm wagons and people on horse-back as they turned in at the gate. I was all excitement, for I had never seen so many people gather at a place of worship. So great was the number that the meeting house was not large enough to hold them, and in the afternoon an overflow meeting was held at which William Wetherald spoke to the people as he stood in a wagon, and in his own sweet, tender manner pointed the people to the way of salvation.

"But what shall I say of the First Day morning meeting? Filled to overflowing from doors to galleries, it was a sight never to be forgotten. But what most impressed me was the ministers' gallery. I could not see the men's gallery very well, but I had a clear view of the women's side. It simply fascinated me, and my eyes roved along each row of seats, and then slowly back and forth again and again, and I sat spellbound. The plain Quaker bonnets shading the sweet, peaceful faces, the grey and dove-coloured dresses with spotless muslin fronts, the white silk shawls, make a picture modern times cannot produce. It lives in the memory never to be effaced. Yet I was not held by the sweetness of the

Quaker dress so much, as by the faces under the plain bonnets, so calm, so restful that my girlish heart longed to know which was the most beautiful.

"Not a sound was heard within the building, for the spirit of silent worship had settled over the people, and the sweet faces grew sweeter with every tick of the clock. Long and earnestly I looked, but it was hard to decide for even the plainest seemed like Moses on the mount, to have caught the glory of God while they reverently waited and worshipped in the sanctuary. First one face, then another, appealed to me, and again and again I had almost decided; but always my eyes came to my mother's face, and with a queer little lump in my throat I decided mother was the sweetest and most beautiful woman in the gallery that First Day morning, Sixth Month, 1867." *

The first Clerk of Canada Yearly Meeting was Adam Spencer; while Levi Varney was the first Assistant Clerk. A Representative Meeting was organized at this time to act as an executive committee of the Yearly Meeting which issued an address to the new Federal Government of the Dominion of Canada, expressing the loyalty of the Society to the Queen and to the existing government, but at the same time reaffirming the ancient position of Friends regarding war and oaths. This address was signed by Ira Clark, the Clerk of the first Representative Meeting. The first trustees of the Yearly Meeting property were Joshua Richardson of Pickering, and Stephen Dorland of West Lake.

Another item of Yearly Meeting business which should be noted at this time, in view of its later importance, was the adoption by Canada Yearly Meeting of the 1859 Discipline of New York Yearly Meeting. The adoption of the Discipline of the Mother Yearly Meeting was an entirely natural and logical step. But subsequent events were to make the adoption (in 1880) of a later revision of the New York Discipline the immediate cause of another lamentable separation in 1881, which will be dealt with in a following chapter.

The organization of Canada Yearly Meeting at Pickering in 1867 was a remarkable fulfilment of the vision of Timothy

* *The Canadian Friend*, Newmarket, vol. xiii, Sept., 1917.

Rogers, who, writing of Pickering in 1809, said: "This place, although very new, is about the centre of Friends in Upper Canada. I believe in time it will produce a Yearly Meeting within ten miles of this spot where I live on Duffin's Creek." This event also marked the culmination of a period of slow but steady growth which was never surpassed in the succeeding period from 1867 to 1881. The organization and discipline of the Society of Friends had been specially suited to the conditions of pioneer life. But with the passing of those conditions and consequently as life became less simple and adventurous, but more complex and conventional, the Society remained substantially unchanged amid these rapidly changing conditions. Moreover, the development of other religious denominations—particularly of the Methodists—had served to narrow the sphere of the Society's influence in many communities where at one time the Quaker Meeting House had been the only place of public worship. As a religious society it still touched at many points the life of the communities wherein it was already established, but the range of its influence was now definitely circumscribed. In fact it was about this time that the Society of Friends in Canada showed a marked tendency to settle down into more circumscribed habits of thought and life, to draw in more on itself, and to acquire in an increasing degree the attributes of "a peculiar people".

The placid contentment of a prosperous agricultural community easily becomes too complacent and conservative; and since the Society of Friends was essentially a rural religious group there was an inevitable tendency to become isolated from the main currents of progress, and to settle down into rigid routine of habit and of thought. These were not, however, insuperable drawbacks; for time, education, wise leadership and united effort would have eventually overcome them. These conditions were unfortunately not all forthcoming, with the result that the spiritual heritage of the Society of Friends was still further dissipated by another sad Separation in 1881.*

* See Appendix (c) Chart II., showing the meetings belonging to the Orthodox branch of Friends after 1828.

CHAPTER XII

THE BACKGROUND OF THE SEPARATION OF 1881 IN CANADA

*The Beaconite Controversy, The Gurney-Wilbur Controversy,
Joseph John Gurney's Mission to Canada, Growth
of the Missionary Spirit, Bible Study, and
Revivalism*

AFTER the Hicksite Separation of 1828 the main current of thought and progress within the Orthodox branch of the Society of Friends was set strongly in the direction of evangelical teaching. Religion both in form and practice was more and more being thought of by Friends in evangelical terms. In fact it was the forward sweep of these evangelical forces which in the last analysis produced both the great separations within the Society of Friends, the Hicksite Separation of 1828, and the Second or "Wilburite" Separation which, beginning in New England in 1845, spread to the other American Yearly Meetings, and eventually to Canada in 1881. But in order to obtain the proper perspective for this Second Separation within the Society in America, it is necessary first to understand the development of Quakerism in England during the period subsequent to 1828; since the influences which created and directed the evangelical movement in America came in a large measure from England.

The Beaconite Controversy

We have already noted the zealous labours of several outstanding English Friends, like William Forster, Thomas Shillitoe, Elizabeth Robson, and others, on behalf of a more evangelical and orthodox interpretation of Quakerism. This tendency was to find its most extreme expression in the

writings of Isaac Crewdson, of Manchester, England, who was the storm centre of the so-called "Beaconite Controversy". In his book, *A Beacon to the Society of Friends*, Isaac Crewdson vigorously attacked the doctrine of the Inner Light and the mystical basis of Quakerism as a dangerous delusion. While denouncing what he called "the heresy of Hicksism and Deism", he was in reality "aiming his bolts at the fundamental principle which the orthodox held in common with Hicks, the mystical basis of inward revelation".* The substance of his argument appears to have been that there is only one fixed basis of religious truth—the Scriptures, the revealed and infallible Word of God. The Inward Light, as the direct invasion of personality by the Spirit of God, he repudiated as "a delusive notion". "Because God has plainly declared to us who have the Scriptures, that there is no other way of salvation for us than that which he hath made known to us in the Holy Scriptures"—"the unscriptural notion of the light within" is "another gospel".†

The vehemence with which Isaac Crewdson expressed his views on these and kindred theological questions which need not be elaborated here, brought the Society into a rather undesirable notoriety and drew down upon him the disapproval first of his Monthly Meeting and eventually of the Yearly Meeting. His final disownment was the occasion for a small secession from the Manchester Meeting of about fifty of his friends and sympathizers. This little group, calling themselves "Evangelical Friends", and numbering altogether about three hundred members, had a corporate existence for only a short time. The majority of their members eventually joined the Plymouth Brethren, while the remainder were absorbed into other evangelical groups in the Church of England.

Among the members of a committee appointed by London Yearly Meeting to deal with the difficult case of Isaac Crewdson was Joseph John Gurney, of Norwich, already recognized

* Rufus M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism*, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 491.

† Isaac Crewdson, *A Beacon*, pp. 153-154, quoted in Rufus M. Jones, *Later Periods*, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 492.

as one of the most outstanding ministers in the Society of Friends and as an able apologist of Christian and of Quaker doctrines.* Joseph John Gurney (1788-1847) was a son of John Gurney, a wealthy Quaker banker of Norwich and the head of Earlham Hall, which was distinguished alike for its culture and hospitality. In addition to the cultural influences of his home and early life, Joseph John Gurney had obtained an exceptionally good education. After returning from Oxford, where he had studied under a tutor, he entered his father's bank, but still pursued his scholarly studies in classics, Oriental languages, and the patristic writings. Since he had been trained largely outside the somewhat narrow circle of the Society, those friends who had the greatest influence on his life were Charles Simeon, a noted Low Church Divine, and William Wilberforce, the great evangelical churchman and anti-slavery leader. He was also closely in touch with the great philanthropic movements of the time through his distinguished sister, Elizabeth Fry, and his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton. His social connections, scholarly attainments, wealth, and beautiful spirit opened all doors to him. At the age of twenty-nine he began speaking in the public ministry, and he was soon recognized as one of the most forceful and distinguished ministers in the Society. His writings were perhaps more widely known and read, both within and without the Society, than those of any other Quaker author down to his time. He travelled extensively in England and in America, and he was undoubtedly the foremost evangelical leader in the Society of Friends.

From the first, Joseph John Gurney had adopted a very moderate attitude towards Isaac Crewdson, partly because Gurney was never a bitter or partisan controversialist—he was persuasive rather than aggressive—but chiefly because he found himself in substantial agreement with many of the

* J. B. Braithwaite, *Life of Joseph John Gurney*, Norwich and London, first edition, 1854, two volumes.

For Beaconite Controversy, see *ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 15-27, 65-66.

For reference to his labour on the Yearly Meeting Committee see *ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 61-63.

views expressed in *The Beacon*, which, in a personal letter to Isaac Crewdson, he said were "in accordance with the sentiments of every sound and enlightened Christian". Nevertheless he took issue with Isaac Crewdson "in his view of universal light and of the immediate teaching of the Holy Spirit",* which the latter had vigorously attacked as a dangerous delusion. The point to be observed is, however, that while Joseph John Gurney throughout his ministry "placed strong emphasis on the direct and immediate work of the Holy Spirit, he thinks of the work of the Holy Spirit in ways familiar to the evangelical writers rather than in the manner long peculiar to Quaker interpreters. We here pass away from an essentially mystical religion rooted and grounded in inward experience, and find instead an elaborated plan of salvation builded out of Scripture passages and solidly buttressed by texts. The Scriptures for him plainly take the first place in the spiritual economy, and the direct Word of God in the human soul a remote, second place. . . . The 'evidences of Christianity' in his writings are the well known evidences which the defenders of the faith in the eighteenth century marshalled against deism and infidelity—fulfilled prophecy, attested miracles, and the testimony of an infallible revelation. They are a milder, weaker, replica of Paley's famous arguments. With diffuse style, constant reiteration, and the outlook of a man who has no doubts and who knows nothing of modern criticism, Gurney travels again and again over the whole field of apologetics, without ever discovering anything which will not yield to his onward conquering march. . . . He was tied hand and foot to eighteenth century theories of Scripture and was unable to modify the narrow static view of the evangelicals and anti-deists by a fresh re-interpretation of the genuine Quaker position. . . . Quakerism emerges, when he has translated it, a complete system of evangelical theology."†

* Letter of Joseph John Gurney to a friend. *Life of Joseph John Gurney, op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 27.

† Rufus M. Jones, *Later Periods, op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 500-502.

It is significant that some of the earlier evangelical leaders such as Thomas Shillitoe, Sarah Grubb, and Ann Jones in their latter days entertained serious misgivings lest the evangelical teaching of Joseph John Gurney should lead away from the old Quaker landmarks, by tending to substitute an external system of theology for the type of experimental religion which had always been the centre of the Quaker faith. Accordingly, when in 1837 Joseph John Gurney asked for a certificate from London Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, liberating him for religious service in America, he met with considerable opposition from the more conservative elements of the Meeting led by Sarah Grubb. At the conclusion of two long sessions the certificate was finally granted, but the decision was by no means unanimous. In 1837, Joseph John Gurney set sail for America to carry out his religious concern which he anticipated might take him two or three years to accomplish. His high social position in England, as well as his standing in the Society, gave him an entree everywhere; while the nature of his religious mission, about which there was much speculation, likewise aroused great interest among the American Meetings. It is not possible here to sketch the activities of Joseph John Gurney during his extended visit in America. Thousands flocked to hear him, and most of his auditors were completely captivated by his eloquence and charming personality.

The Gurney-Wilbur Controversy

In certain quarters of American Quakerism, however, both in the East and in the West—but especially in New England, Philadelphia, and Ohio—there developed against Joseph John Gurney's teaching a very definite hostility which was led by John Wilbur, of Rhode Island. Previous to this (1831-1833) John Wilbur had undertaken a religious visit to Great Britain, in the course of which he had been deeply aroused by the new methods of teaching and the new positions with regard to doctrine which were pretty generally accepted by the more evangelical wing of the Society. He was, for instance,

grieved to find Friends launching out into the work of foreign missions; and he denounced "the formation of Bible Societies composed of Bishops, Priests, and peoples of diverse other denominations, joining with the hireling clergy and others for the promotion of religion by spreading the Scriptures". But above all he felt that to exalt the Scriptures above the inward teaching of the Spirit of Christ was to shift the whole central ground of Quaker Truth, and to endanger the spiritual basis of the Quaker worship and ministry. While there were ample grounds for this feeling, his reaction against this phase of the evangelical movement was so violent that, unfortunately, he failed to see the possibility of reconciling the two extremes; while "he was so thoroughly entrenched in the past and so fixed in his feeling that 'the old inheritance must be guarded' that he missed his chance to be a real leader, and to carry the Society forward along the lines of its true destiny. He lived so much in retrospect that he had no intimation of the widening mission that lay before Friends".* John Wilbur had found in England many sympathizers, and soon became a recognized leader of the more conservative wing of the Society which aimed to defend "the ancient truth".

When Joseph John Gurney visited New England, John Wilbur had an interview with him, and as a result was more convinced than ever of his unsoundness. Previous to this time John Wilbur had published various letters against these new and, as he believed, dangerous departures in the Society, but now he made a stand against Joseph John Gurney himself as the head and front of this whole movement. The direct charge against Gurney of "unsoundness" immediately called forth the remonstrances of many prominent Friends in New England Yearly Meeting which was overwhelmingly "Gurneyite". They claimed that John Wilbur's attack on an accredited minister, who came to America with the full endorsement of London Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, was a violation of discipline, and they determined to put a stop to Wilbur's opposition by disowning him. This

* Rufus M. Jones, *Later Periods*, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 512.

attempt to silence an inconvenient and persistent critic immediately rallied to his side the conservative elements whose cause he championed, and, in 1845, precipitated a separation within New England Yearly Meeting. Though the Wilburites numbered only five hundred out of a membership of over seven thousand,* they claimed to be the true descendants of "the ancient Yearly Meeting of New England". This claim was, however, decided against them by the law courts, and in favour of the larger body. London Yearly Meeting likewise gave its official sanction to this body, thereby identifying itself with the Gurneyite section of the Yearly Meeting, while in future it sent all official correspondence to that body alone.

The problem as to which of the two groups in New England should be officially recognized as the Orthodox body of Friends, was further complicated by another separation, in 1854, between the so-called "Wilburites" and "Gurneyites" in Ohio Yearly Meeting, where the conservative element happened to be much the stronger. This at once placed all the other Yearly Meetings which were independent units and their own final authority in all such matters, in danger of division; since both the Ohio meetings addressed all the others, and each claimed recognition as the true body of Friends. The outcome of this issue is much too complicated to be dealt with here. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, though leaning strongly towards the conservative wing, avoided a possible separation in its own ranks by refusing to recognize by official epistolary correspondence any of the American Yearly Meetings whether "Gurneyite" or "Wilburite"; thereby withdrawing into a position of official isolation which it maintained for many years, and long after this served any useful purpose.

About twenty years after the separation in Ohio, a cycle of separations occurred in several of the Western Yearly Meetings (including Canada) between the years 1877 and 1881. The four new Yearly Meetings which were established at this time naturally recognized their common interests with

* A. C. Thomas, *A History of Friends in America*, op. cit., p. 149.

the other two distinctly conservative Yearly Meetings of Ohio and New England, by whom they were recognized, and with whom they carried on official epistolary correspondence.* But while these more recently established conservative Yearly Meetings have been classed with Ohio and New England as Wilburite, the separations which brought this later group of meetings in the American West into existence were only distant echoes of the Gurney-Wilbur Controversy. As I wish to show presently, the immediate cause of this last cycle of separations was the reaction produced by Revivalism—an aggressive, emotional form of the evangelical movement which was more or less characteristic of western pioneer communities.

It has not been possible in this brief outline to arrive at any judicial estimate either of Joseph John Gurney, or of John Wilbur. The aim has been simply to give enough of the English and American background to make the 1881 Separation among Friends in Canada intelligible.† Before leaving this subject, however, it might be pointed out that the differences between these two high minded and devoted men, and

* The so-called "Wilburite" or "Conservative" Yearly Meetings of the Society of Friends are :

New England, established in	1845.
Ohio	" " 1854.
Western (Indiana)	" " 1877.
Iowa	" " 1877.
Kansas	" " 1879.
Canada	" " 1881.
North Carolina	" " 1903.

In 1890 the seven Wilburite Meetings then in existence had four thousand five hundred and twenty-nine members. No statistics have been available since this date.

† This subject is fully dealt with in standard histories of Friends, of which the best for this particular subject are :

William Hodgson, *The Society of Friends in the Nineteenth Century*, two vols., Philadelphia, 1876.

William Hodgson was a member of the Wilburite body and gives a full account of both separations.

Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, *op. cit.* This is the best and one of the most recent Quaker histories. It is notable for its broad, philosophical treatment and historical insight.

A. C. Thomas, *A History of Friends in America*, *op. cit.* This is a short but authoritative account.

between the two groups that they represent, were fundamentally differences of temperament and emphasis, rather than of theology. In fact, as Rufus M. Jones has clearly shown, both leaders were, broadly speaking, "Orthodox" in their theology. Indeed, throughout the whole Society and even in the strongholds of conservatism, the underlying theology was by this time distinctly Orthodox and Evangelical. Unfortunately, there was a lack of sufficient critical and historical insight to understand this, and to perceive that a fresh, living re-interpretation of Quakerism could have comprehended what was most vital in the possession of each group. This would have meant the permanent enrichment of Quakerism instead of its impoverishment by further division. Each group needed the other, and by separation they both experienced loss. The traditional conservatism of the Wilbur element would have exerted a wise restraint on the Orthodox group, tending to neutralize certain extravagances of evangelical belief and practice which later crept into the Society; while on the other hand, the Orthodox could have helped the Wilburite group to attain a more forward look, and to escape from many inhibitions of past tradition which limited their capacity for real usefulness. "John Wilbur was of the static order and belonged to the mediæval type and period of Quakerism, not to the great birth period and the primitive type. As against Gurney's theology he was traditionally right, but as a leader for the new era he was bound hand and foot with the grave-clothes of the past. Neither one of these two men, noble-hearted and consecrated as they both were, was the long-awaited prophet who could lead the Society of Friends to new heights of vision and set it forward on a new line of march toward the fulfillment of its spiritual destiny."*

Joseph John Gurney's Mission to Canada

While, as we have seen, the preaching of Joseph John Gurney had made him an active centre of religious controversy in many of the American Meetings, not the slightest trace of

* Rufus M. Jones, *ibid.*, vol. i, p. 531.

this feeling is discernable either during or after his two short visits to Canada, in 1838 and in 1839 respectively. Apparently, the period of political excitement through which the country was passing directed attention away from controversial religious topics to the burning political questions of the day—the right of colonial self-government which the recent rebellion in Upper and Lower Canada had made a critical issue. Gurney's *Journal* reveals how deeply he was impressed by the seriousness of the situation in Canada, which made him feel it his duty to restore, as far as he was able, a better feeling of understanding and amity. He was particularly anxious to avoid anything which might increase the feeling of hostility against Great Britain in the United States. His mission, therefore, while distinctly religious, was largely influenced by the special conditions which prevailed in Canada at this time.

Joseph John Gurney first entered Lower Canada from New Hampshire in Ninth Month, 1838; and he at once proceeded to Quebec to interview Lord Durham, whom he had known previously in England.

"He received me," says Joseph John Gurney, "with much kindness, and I afterwards dined and spent the evening with him, his lady, and family. I had a great deal of conversation with him of a highly interesting character, and was much struck with his extensive information and superior talents. Though I had no reason to suppose that he agreed with me in my views of the paramount importance of evangelical religion, it was evident that he was a person of conscientious feeling, impressed with a lively sense of a superintending providence; and full of good designs for the intellectual and civil improvement of the people under his care. His government was steady, calm, and peaceable; and, as I have every reason to believe, impartial. Certainly he was called to rule in troublous times; for nothing then could be more uneasy than the juxtaposition of the two races which composed the population of Lower Canada. Lord Durham was utterly opposed to the shedding of blood, by the hand either of the soldier or the executioner. He had put a stop to capital punishments in Upper Canada and, above all, he was daily manifesting to the citizens of the

United States, that liberal and kindly feeling, and that just appreciation of their character and circumstances, which greatly tended to the removal of misunderstandings, and to insuring of permanent peace between the two nations. Nothing could appear more ill-timed than the differences which had just taken place between himself and the British Parliament. He seemed to be extremely chagrined ; and not less mortified and disappointed were many enlightened members of the community under his care, of both parties.” *

Joseph John Gurney felt very strongly that it would be a great public calamity if Lord Durham resigned. He apparently believed that Durham possessed both the vision and the ability to solve the difficult problem that confronted Canada at this time, along peaceable and permanently constructive lines. Accordingly, before leaving Quebec, Joseph John Gurney wrote Durham a long letter, strongly urging him to reconsider his contemplated resignation.† Before returning to the United States, Joseph John Gurney visited the little group of Friends at Farnham, in the Eastern Townships, where he found them much disturbed over the existing political unsettlement. They were greatly reassured and comforted by his visit; and he was able to furnish several Friends belonging to this Meeting with letters of introduction to Lord Durham and the authorities at Quebec, thereby enabling these Friends to remove certain misapprehensions regarding their loyalty, which the stupid act of an officious person had created, by trying to force upon Friends, contrary to their religious convictions, an oath of loyalty and submission”.‡

In August of the following year, 1839, when Joseph John Gurney visited Upper Canada, he still found the country in a state of political turmoil. His comment on conditions in Canada shows that, while he had a very commendable desire to see a more charitable spirit manifested by both sides, he had a very slight appreciation of the real issue of responsible self-government—the denial of which would have been a

* J. B. Braithwaite, *Life of Joseph John Gurney*, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 142-143.

† This letter is given in part in *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 143-144.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 147.

repudiation of the legitimate political aspirations of the majority of the Canadian people. "In consequence", he says, "of the premature publication of Lord Durham's able Report, *the disaffected party had adopted his name and were availing themselves of the circumstances in order to keep up a continual excitement.* The spirit of many, on both sides, appeared lamentably bad; and wherever we went we found ourselves constrained to plead for the cause of good order and Christian moderation."* Among the important Quaker communities visited by Joseph John Gurney during his second journey, was Norwich. This township had been a centre of serious political disaffection in which a number of Friends, contrary to their usual practice, but under great provocation, had been involved. Joseph John Gurney therefore felt it his special duty "to proclaim Christ and His peaceable reign against all tumults and factions," and he "also prayed for the Queen". "I afterwards found", he says, "that many rebels were present." During his visit to Yonge Street, Joseph John Gurney was again able to use his high social connection, and influence with the Government, to secure the release of two young Friends who had been imprisoned because of their refusal on conscientious grounds to serve in the militia. While in Toronto, Joseph John Gurney called on Governor Sir George Arthur, and "had a very satisfactory conversation with him and an opportunity of correcting some misapprehension respecting Friends". He also held a large public meeting in Toronto. "The audience", he says, "was very attentive. I had to unfold the constitutional government and laws of the Kingdom of Heaven as revealed in the Scriptures, against all factions, broils and contentions. I spent the evening very pleasantly with the Governor and his family. We were favoured with a solemn Scripture reading. I was much pleased with their simplicity."† After leaving Canada, Joseph John Gurney wrote a long letter to Sir George Arthur in which he pointed out "the scriptural accuracy and practical importance of the views of Friends, especially on worship

* *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 178. The italics are mine.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 179.

and the ministry, and their accordance and necessary connection with the fundamental truths of the Gospel." Joseph John Gurney was evidently concerned to convince the Governor of the entire orthodoxy of the Society. During his sojourn in West Lake Quarterly Meeting, Joseph John Gurney gave practical evidence of his well known generosity and of his deep interest in education by a handsome gift of money, which was of material assistance in establishing the Boarding School in West Lake in 1841.

The visit of this distinguished Friend to Canada was productive of much good. It smoothed the way for the Society during a particularly trying and turbulent time, and gave the Society a standing and prestige which it probably never enjoyed before in Canada. So far as Canadian Friends were concerned, Joseph John Gurney was an ambassador of good will and a munificent benefactor. No one in Canada would have dared to oppose him, even though some may have secretly disapproved of his theological tendencies, and there is no evidence to show that any did so. His high social connections and influence at home, and his standing in the Mother Yearly Meeting of London, gave him an even greater prestige in Canada than he enjoyed in the United States; and among all Canadian Friends he was remembered only with gratitude and deep respect.

While the above account of Joseph John Gurney's mission to Canada throws some light on the political conditions of the time, it is especially noteworthy because of its bearing on the later separations in the American West and in Canada, in the period between 1877 and 1881. Joseph John Gurney died in 1847, or eight years after his visit to America, and thirty years before the second cycle of separations, 1877-1881; so that during this long interval many new influences would come into play. It was quite natural that the name of this outstanding Friend should have been associated with a certain type of evangelical thought; but it is rather misleading to attempt to attribute the separations of 1877-1881 directly to Gurney's influence, or to call the resulting divisions of Orthodox

Friends in the American West and in Canada, "Gurney-ite". Our further consideration of the subject will show, however, that while Joseph John Gurney was *one* of the main evangelical influences which wrought a great transformation within the Society, there were *other* native forces at work in the American Yearly Meetings and in Canada which eventually effected such a transformation of the Society as to produce practically a new type of Quakerism in the American West. It was the protest of the conservative element in the Society against those far-reaching changes, rather than against the doctrines of any one individual, which precipitated the separations in the American Yearly Meetings and in Canada between 1877 and 1881.

The Growth of the Missionary Spirit, and of Bible Study

The three main influences which intensified the evangelical movement in American Quakerism were—the birth of the missionary spirit, a new interest in Bible Study, and Revivalism. The first two of these movements originally came from England, and were in a large measure fostered by English Friends. Revivalism as the normal outreaching of the Christian Church was more distinctly characteristic of American evangelical Protestantism.

For many years Friends had not attempted any organized missionary effort because of the belief, a relic of the Quietistic period, that each separate religious effort should arise out of a special "concern" or call by God to perform it. Each piece of work, each spiritual undertaking they believed must be first "opened" in some person's heart as a fresh call of God, and the only business of the Society in the matter consisted in endorsing the "concern", and in assisting the person who was called to carry through the undertaking that had been laid upon him. To organize for work of any kind was "creaturely activity".* But eventually through the religious "concerns" of leaders like Thomas Shillitoe, Stephen Grellet,

* Rufus M. Jones, *Later Periods*, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 871.

Daniel Wheeler, Robert Lindsey, Eli and Sybil Jones—only to mention a few—the Society of Friends, as a whole, was brought to a new sense of responsibility for the spread of the gospel to non-Christian races, and to a new interest in world evangelization. It is not within our province to enlarge on this subject; but suffice it to say that the journeys undertaken by some of the Friends mentioned above, especially those of Stephen Grellet and Daniel Wheeler, comprise an Odyssey of religious adventure which holds a unique place in missionary annals.* The efforts of these Friends were in the main sporadic and unorganized; but they were among the pioneers of the modern missionary movement in the Society, and they prepared the way for more united efforts later on.

The development of Bible Study was a second important feature of the evangelical movement. The supreme position ascribed by the evangelical orthodoxy to the Scriptures as the Word of God, sent men to their Bibles with renewed enthusiasm and zeal. The Separation of 1828 had a somewhat similar effect upon the Society of Friends. Before this there had been a serious lack of definite teaching or of Bible Study. Friends had always valued the Scriptures, and most members were in the habit of reading them daily in Family Worship. Many, however, objected "to fixing times for reading as being a lifeless form", and consequently only read as they were inwardly prompted. Reading the Scriptures, when indulged in at all, was a spiritual exercise; while to study or to argue about them seemed, if not actually sacrilegious, at least as savouring too much of "creaturely activity". This inhibition, as in the case of the objection to organized missionary work, was also a relic of the Quietistic period. The public ministry of this time was principally hortatory; but while revealing a ready familiarity with the Scriptures, it was principally the language and imagery of the Scriptures which were employed.

* Thomas Shillitoe, *Journals*, two vols, London, 1839.
 Stephen Grellet, *Memoirs*, two vols, London, 1860, Philadelphia, 1868.
 Daniel Wheeler, *Memoirs*, London, 1842.
 Robert Lindsey, *Travels of R. and S. Lindsey*, London, 1886.
 R. M. Jones, *Eli and Sybil Jones*, Philadelphia, 1889.

No serious attempt was made to arrive at a critical appreciation of the real content and meaning of the Scriptures. "The Bible was never read publicly in Friends' Meetings before 1860, and among the conservative groups the systematic study of it was looked upon as apostacy to the true Quaker principle."*

The first promoter of systematic Bible Study among American and Canadian Friends was Hannah C. Backhouse. She had been a Gurney before her marriage with Jonathan Backhouse, so that she was a cousin of two distinguished members of the Gurney family, Elizabeth Fry and Joseph John Gurney.† In 1830, Hannah C. Backhouse visited America in company with her husband. For five years this beautiful, gifted woman travelled throughout the length and breadth of American Quakerism, exposing herself to all kinds of hardship and even danger, in the accomplishment of her living concern to promote the study of the Bible among Friends. In 1834 she came into Canada, visiting some of the meetings in Pelham Quarter, and holding Bible readings in private families as opportunity offered. She was present at Pelham Monthly Meeting in 1834. The devoted labour of Hannah C. Backhouse was the real beginning of the First Day School Movement in America, which eventually spread throughout every part of the Society of Friends.

Her cousin, Joseph John Gurney, during his religious visit to America, also gave a strong impetus to systematic Bible study. He was in the habit of holding Scripture readings, not only among Friends, but with others wherever a favourable opportunity was presented. When in Toronto, for instance, he was invited by Sir George Arthur to spend the evening at Government House, and before leaving, he held "a solemn Scripture reading" with the Governor and his family. Joseph John Gurney's use of the Scriptures was far more systematic and thorough than that which was customary in the public ministry among Friends at this time. He did much to arouse a new interest in and enthusiasm for systematic Bible study.

* Rufus M. Jones, *Later Periods*, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 885.

† *Journal and Letters of H. C. Backhouse*, London, 1858.

The establishment of Canada Yearly Meeting in 1867 marks the beginning of more systematic efforts in Bible School work. The first survey taken of Bible Schools in 1867 reported a total of thirteen schools, sixty-eight teachers and four hundred and fifty-four scholars enrolled. In 1870, in order to make reports more uniform and accurate, Joseph Baker, George Rorke, and William Spencer were appointed to prepare an official form to be used by all schools in their future reports to the Yearly Meeting.* In 1879 these reports show one thousand and seventeen children, and three hundred and seventy-two adults, or a total of one thousand three hundred and eighty-nine enrolled in First Day Schools. These reports indicate that the Bible Schools were making definite headway, and they were the means of bringing new life and interest into the Society.

Revivalism

Revivalism has had such an important place in the development of religion on the North American continent that a history of American Protestantism might well be written "from the standpoint of its period awakenings".† But while the influence of Revivalism on American Quakerism has been far-reaching, its influence on the Society was not very marked till the latter half of the nineteenth century. The first Great Awakening which during the early part of the eighteenth century spread from Jonathan Edwards' congregation at Northampton, Mass., throughout the length and breadth of the American Colonies, left American Quakerism cold. The exclusiveness of Friends, especially in the older settled colonies, and the traditions of Quietism which were still paramount, made the Society very slightly susceptible to Revivalistic influences at this time.

The Second Awakening, as it is sometimes called, came much closer to the Society; since this revival was at its height

* *Minutes of Canada Yearly Meeting, 1870.*

† P. G. Mode, *Revivalism as a Phase of Frontier Life*, The Journal of Religion, Chicago, July, 1921, vol. i, No. 4.

during the period of the Great Quaker Migration into the Middle West and to Canada (described in an earlier chapter) when the younger generation were breaking away from the old, conservative centres of Quakerism in the East to found new homes in a new country. Under the conditions of frontier life it was more difficult to maintain the old Quaker traditions of exclusiveness and Quietism, especially among the younger people, who were more susceptible to outside influences. Moreover, the camp meeting, which was the usual form of Revivalism in frontier communities, had a great social as well as religious appeal for a pioneer community. While many attended these gatherings in a state of high religious expectancy, many others came out of sheer curiosity, or to satisfy their longing for social intercourse. Whole neighbourhoods would flock to a camp meeting which was, amid the dull routine and isolation of frontier life, the one big event of the year. This excitement and interest would certainly be communicated to the young Quaker folk of the community.

The first Methodist and Quaker communities in Adolphus-town may serve to illustrate this point for Canada. In 1805, near the old Methodist chapel on Hay Bay, there was organized by two Methodist preachers, Henry Ryan and William Case, the first camp meeting ever held in Upper Canada. Here was the cradle of Methodist Revivalism in Canada which was to be such a powerful force in the early history of this Church.* From points far and near along the Bay of Quinte came the early Methodist adherents in their batteaux loaded down with tents, provisions, and bedding, or in their heavily laden ox carts creaking over the rough trails, to participate in the long heralded event—the big camp meeting on the Bay. A strange and exciting time it must have been for this little isolated community—"the tented forest sanctuary, processions coming for miles, the outbursts of prayer and praise, the word of power, the cries of penitence, the shouts of deliverance and joyful testimony through all the days of the

* J. E. Sanderson, *The First Century of Methodism in Canada*, two vols, Toronto, 1908. Vol. i, pp. 44-45.

Feast of Tabernacles, closing and crowned with marching songs of Thanksgiving.”* But though the leaders of the little Quaker meeting on Hay Bay sadly shook their heads at such a shocking exhibition of “creaturely activity”, we may safely say that many of the younger folk were mightily attracted by it; while the decline of the Adolphustown meeting suggests that eventually many of them were captivated by this form of Revivalism. Elias Hicks, who was a characteristic example of the old, traditional Quietistic school, vigorously denounced camp meetings. He called them “night revels”, and considered them “a very great nuisance to civil society”.† He thought they were promoters of “licentiousness, immorality, and drunkenness”, and were more or less reproachful to the Christian name, “giving much occasion for infidels to scoff”.‡

While the above strictures of a contemporary observer were not without justification, the longer view of history is inclined to admit that however much Revivalism may have been incompatible with certain Quaker traditions, “the camp meeting probably offered the most practical solution to the urgent religious needs of the undeveloped frontier. . . . It served as a timely deterrent to the laxity of morals naturally associated with the drifting of population from one area to another. . . . It fitted readily into the itinerant system of Methodism. It protected earnest but untrained preachers, drafted by the urgency of the times, from the strain of constant ministry to a single congregation. A mere handful of preachers were able to distribute their services over a vast area that otherwise would have had no spiritual ministration whatsoever.”‡

The spread of evangelical teaching within the Orthodox branch of the Society, the new importance placed upon the Scriptures and upon missionary enterprise, and the impact of a later phase of the Revival Movement led by Charles G.

* *Ibid.*, p. 45.

† H. W. Wilbur, *Life and Labour of Elias Hicks*, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

‡ P. G. Mode, *Revivalism as a Phase of Frontier Life*, *op. cit.*, pp. 350-351.

Finney, were finally to create the necessary conditions for the outbreak of a Revival within the Society of Friends itself. And since, as we have seen, Revivalism had been such a powerful factor in frontier religion it was not surprising that the first manifestations of its influence within the Society should have occurred in 1860 in Indiana Yearly Meeting—one of the earliest pioneer Yearly Meetings to be established in the Middle West. This new impulse of Revivalism was next communicated to Ohio Yearly Meeting, and eventually it swept over all the meetings of the Society in the Western States.

The leaders of the Revival Movement within the Society were all young Friends, the most prominent of them being John Henry and Robert Douglas, Allen Jay, Luke Woodard, Elwood Scott, and David B. Updegraff, who was "the most radical and revolutionary of them all." In most communities this revival began among little groups of consecrated young Friends who met together for Bible study and prayer. These small informal meetings were gradually extended to "General" or "Thresher" Meetings, in which there was much time given to exposition of the Scripture and to vocal prayer and testimony. Then various Revivalistic practices began to come into use, such as congregational singing, personal solicitations for prayer and testimony, and a "penitent bench". These were innovations unheard of in the Society before this time, though perfectly familiar to all Western Friends through the long established methods of Revivalism as practised by other religious denominations all around them. The introduction of these new practices profoundly altered the character of Quaker meetings for worship, which began to approximate more closely to the services of other evangelical churches whose methods and doctrines the leaders of this new movement within the Society were more or less consciously imitating. In fact, the preaching of these pronounced evangelical leaders, like Luke Woodard and Elwood Scott, materially helped to bridge over the gap which had made the Quaker ministry and method of worship distinctive, and to guide the Quaker approach to religion into the well worn paths of Orthodox belief.

The Society was passing through a very critical period of transition, demanding breadth of vision, historical perspective, and deep spiritual insight. The danger was lest in sloughing off what was merely traditional and external, many things which were vital to the real Quaker message and absolutely distinctive should be lost as well. And while, as the result of the Great Revival, there was, for the time at least, a notable increase in life and power within the Society, many felt, and not without reason, that there had been sacrificed many things distinctive of and vital to the Quaker faith. The organized opposition to certain phases of evangelical teaching which had developed at the time of the Gurney-Wilburite separations in New England and Ohio Yearly Meetings, now provided a ready nucleus about which opposition gathered against this latest and most aggressive phase of the evangelical movement in the West, and it produced a further cycle of separations in Indiana, in Iowa, in Kansas, and in Canada.



Pickering Meeting House



Bloomfield Meeting House



Beckett's Mills, Effingham



Yonge Street Meeting House

CHAPTER XIII

THE SEPARATION OF 1881 IN CANADA

THE founding of Canada Yearly Meeting of Friends in 1867 was more nearly the end of a marked period of progress than the beginning. With the passing of the simple conditions of frontier life to which Quakerism had been peculiarly adapted, the Society of Friends was left in an area of eddying currents and backwash, while the waves of progress rolled onward. Though, as we have seen, some definite and very creditable achievements had been accomplished in the past, there was apparent no great urge or compelling vision for the future. Many of the exclusive and inhibiting traditions of Quietism still remained to discourage organized activities either within or without the borders of the Society. And since no great task presented itself to be accomplished, apparently the only thing left to do was to preserve the ancient landmarks and to keep up the old traditions of "a peculiar people". The very lack of formality in the Society was tending to become formal, and what had been positive virtues in the past to become merely negative rules of conduct. While according to Quaker custom meetings for worship were always held on the basis of silence, they were frequently held in complete silence, and many were inclined to be dead and formal. The constantly recurring answer to the First Query* "that all are not clear of sleeping in meeting", is not without significance. The discouragement of critical study of the Bible, or of previous preparation, lest the free movings of the Spirit

* The *Queries* were a set number of questions directed by the *Discipline* to be answered at stated intervals by the Preparative and Monthly Meetings. After the answers to the *Queries* were considered and, if necessary, amended, they were forwarded to the Superior Meeting (Quarterly, Half Yearly, or Yearly, as the case might be) in order to show the state of spiritual life and progress within the Society. The *First Query* in the *Discipline of 1859* was:—"Are Friends careful to attend all our meetings for religious worship and discipline? Is the hour observed? And are they clear of all unbecoming behaviour in them?"

should be interrupted, meant that those engaged in public ministry were frequently rambling and incoherent, offering little which could appeal to the young or which could be regarded by anyone either as inspiring or thought provoking. There is also evidence during this period of increasing difficulty in the enforcement of the Discipline, especially upon the younger generation, with respect to their "marrying out", their use of the plain language and dress, and their participation in the common social life of the community. Indeed, the attempts to enforce these minor points of discipline seem to have so largely occupied the minds of the Elders and Overseers that they could not have had very much energy left for other things; as if Quakerism chiefly consisted in the use of a peculiar idiom of speech, the wearing of unusual clothes, and not doing certain things which were in themselves entirely innocent. Many of those who were disowned for these minor infractions of the Discipline joined other religious groups in which they believed they could find more freedom and variety. These losses, while regrettable, were symptomatic of an increasing restlessness within the Society and a desire for change.

The outbreak of the Great Revival in Indiana in 1860, and the spread of the movement to the other Western Yearly Meetings, also served to increase the general feeling of unsettlement within the Society. In fact, this unsettlement and the sense of impending change were probably among the main reasons for the lack of progress in Canada Yearly Meeting after 1867, which we have already noted. There was accordingly a certain timidity in launching out into the deep, lest the Society in Canada should be swept out into the uncharted seas of these new ideas and enterprises which were already tugging hard at the old moorings.

Among these unsettling influences was the Revivalistic camp-meeting, against which Canada Yearly Meeting in 1870 issued a special note of warning. This interesting document called the attention of Friends to "the weakening tendency of excursions and of those gatherings—partly or professedly

religious—so common at the present day . . . Friends are advised not to join in them, but to keep out of their exciting influence, and also to keep aloof from excitement of a military character.”* The leaven of these “weakening” influences was, however, already at work within the Society, and could not be denied any longer. The increasing emphasis on evangelical doctrine and long years of familiarity with Methodist Revivalism had already prepared the ground in Canada for a Revival within the Society of Friends itself, which was to effect the same transformation of Quakerism in Canada as was already being accomplished in the Yearly Meetings of the American Middle West.

Among the first representatives of the Revival Movement in the American Yearly Meetings to visit Canada were Luke Woodard† and Elwood Scott, both of Indiana. Luke Woodard had been among the leaders of the Revival in Indiana, and one of the first to introduce certain practices heretofore unused by Friends, as for instance, reading the

* *Advice* of 1870, issued by Canada Yearly Meeting of Friends.

† Luke Woodard (1832-1925) was one of the most typical leaders of the Great Revival in the West. His parents had emigrated from North Carolina to Indiana in the early twenties, so that he came from distinctly western pioneer stock. In 1862 his gift in the ministry was acknowledged by New Garden Monthly Meeting, Indiana. For a number of years he lived on his farm, and at the same time carried on his work of public ministry. Later he devoted all of his time to evangelistic work in which he was very successful; and, along with John Henry Douglas, Robert W. Douglas, and David B. Updegraff, he was one of the outstanding leaders in the Great Revival. Luke Woodard was also one of the first pastors in the Society of Friends. The “pastoral system” was another notable innovation brought into the Society at this time, and it presently developed into a more or less professional Quaker ministry. Luke Woodard was the first pastor at Fountain City, Indiana, in 1874. He also served as pastor in Rochester, N.Y., 1875; Toronto, Canada, 1882-1884; Glens Falls, N.Y.; Richmond, Indiana; Oskaloosa, Iowa; Muncie and Kokoma, Indiana; Poplar Ridge, N.Y.; Spiceland, Indiana. He wrote numerous pamphlets and several books, of which the last was completed in his ninetieth year. He was a brave, simple, consecrated soul; and while an uncompromising defender of the truth as he saw it, “he contended for principles and not against people.” His death in 1925 marked the close of an epoch of Quaker history.

See *The American Friend*, Richmond, Indiana, Jan., 1925, vol. xiii, No. 4. This contains several interesting and appreciative articles on Luke Woodard.

Bible in a Quaker meeting for worship.* He was also one of the earliest pastors within the Society, first in Indiana, and afterwards in Toronto, Canada, in 1882-1884. He was first present at Canada Yearly Meeting held at Pickering in 1875. In this same year Elwood Scott attended Pelham Quarterly Meeting, and he also held a series of meetings in West Lake Quarter. In 1876 Elwood Scott again visited Canada; while other visitors to Canada in this same year were Thomas W. Ladd, of New York, and Lydia G. Romick, of Ohio. All these Friends helped to convey to Canada something of the enthusiasm and new approach to religion which had characterized the movement in the American meetings; but their enthusiasm, which broke through all bounds of custom, gave serious offence to the more conservative element and was the beginning of friction in Canada.†

In 1877 a crisis had been precipitated in the Western Yearly Meetings to be followed, as we have already seen, by a cycle of separations, in Indiana, Iowa, and Kansas. The repercussion of this was immediately felt in Canada, which now became the scene of even greater activity, and—unfortunately—of increasing discord. This is reflected in the unusual number of visitors to Canada Yearly Meeting in 1877, and during the immediately succeeding years. There were, for instance, present at Canada Yearly Meeting in 1877 no fewer than twenty-one visitors from other Yearly Meetings.‡

* Luke Woodard, in giving testimony at The Appeal Trial in 1884 regarding the West Lake property, when questioned as to the reading of the Scriptures in Friends' meeting, stated that he was the first person to his recollection to read the Bible in a meeting for worship, "nearly twenty years ago." *Appeal from the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice. John T. Dorland vs. Gilbert Jones, Belleville, 1884, vol. i, p. 318.*

† William Valentine, one of the witnesses for the Defendants in the Appeal Case, in trying to place the beginning of the trouble in West Lake, stated that it was in the winter of '75 when Elwood Scott had held a series of meetings at West Lake. See *Appeal from Chancery Division, Dorland vs. Jones, op. cit.*, vol. i, page 261.

‡ There were present at Canada Yearly Meeting in 1877 one representative from Dublin, James N. Richardson; one from London, England, Sarah B. Satterwaite; three from Philadelphia; one from New England, Stephen Cartland; one from New York; two from Baltimore; five from Ohio; six from Indiana; one from Iowa. In 1878 there were present

Among the most active of these visiting representatives was the Indiana delegation, of whom Robert W. Douglas was easily the most outstanding and forceful. Three other members of the Indiana delegation, Joseph Ratcliffe, William Allen, and Noah McLean, attended West Lake Monthly Meeting in this same year, and they also held special meetings at various places within West Lake Quarter. The meetings held at Bloomfield by Noah McLean, a coloured evangelist, were far from acceptable to the more conservative Friends. For whatever these services may have gained in enthusiasm and interest they were certainly lacking in that dignity and reverence usually associated with a Quaker meeting. Many Friends objected that these meetings were too "Methodistic". Indeed, in some instances union Revival services were held with the Methodist body, which reveals to what an extent religious barriers were breaking down. William Valentine, one of the leading members of the conservative group, rather unwisely perhaps, tried to debar Noah McLean from the use of the Bloomfield meeting house. But since those who favoured this type of Revival service were in the majority, William Valentine was not able to stop the meeting, and he finally withdrew amid some confusion, which placed him in a rather humiliating position. Some of the progressive group went out of their way, giving unnecessary offence thereby, simply to demonstrate their freedom from the old restraints. They even heaped ridicule on what had been long established Quaker customs, and seemed to glory in being just like other evangelical bodies, as if the Society of Friends had no special mission. The former leaders of the meeting were slighted. They were openly taunted as obstructionists, as "old engines run off the track and rusting out", and as "lacking a spark of evangelical fervour". The details of many incidents that occurred at this time make somewhat painful reading, and need

twenty-five visitors in all : four from London, England, *i.e.*, Stanley G. and Sarah Pumphrey, Walter Morris, and Sarah B. Satterwaite; six from New England ; five from New York ; four from Ohio ; five from Indiana; one from Iowa. The preponderance of representatives from the western Yearly Meetings is evident in every year.

not be produced here; but enough has been said to show the growing feeling and a serious divergence of opinion.*

Ever since the visit of Elwood Scott to Pelham in 1875, there had been increasing difficulty in this quarter as well, which came to a head just after the Yearly Meeting of 1877. Adam Spencer, who had been the first Clerk of Canada Yearly Meeting in 1867, and had served the Meeting faithfully in that capacity ever since, returned from the Yearly Meeting of 1877, convinced that the crisis of decision which had come to several of the American Yearly Meetings was imminent in Canada as well. It seemed to him that the Society was slipping away from its old, safe moorings, and he was determined to prevent what he believed would be disaster. He was a stout defender of traditional Quakerism, and insisted on all its outward evidences, such as "plainness of dress and address"—the badge of "a peculiar people". He also believed that he detected in the doctrines of this new evangelical school evidences of unsoundness, or at least of certain opinions, contrary to his interpretation of orthodox Quaker faith. As a result of his protest against certain innovations in faith and practice, a division occurred in Norwich Monthly Meeting in Seventh Month, 1877. In 1878 Adam Spencer published a rather elaborate *Testimony*† in order to justify his position, and to prove that those of the opposing group in the Monthly Meeting were seceders from the true Quaker body.

A considerable portion of *The Testimony* is apparently intended as a refutation of a pamphlet entitled *The Way of Salvation*, published in Richmond, Indiana, 1869, which Adam Spencer takes as a typical statement of these new evangelical doctrines. Without attempting to reconstruct the main arguments of *The Testimony*, which are diffuse and not at all closely reasoned, the document as a whole is a protest against the dogmatic, literal interpretation placed by the

* *Appeal from Chancery Division, Dorland vs. Jones, op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 265-266, also vol. ii, pp. 491-493.

† *Testimony Issued by Norwich Monthly Meeting of Friends, Norwich, 1878.* This is also printed in full in *Appeal from Chancery, Dorland vs. Jones, op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 649-654.

extreme Evangelicals on certain passages of Scripture and as used by them in Revivalistic Meetings.* But while points of difference undoubtedly did exist, these differences were largely matters of emphasis or of temperamental approach to various religious problems (some of a highly speculative nature) rather than involving any fundamental differences with regard to the great, central doctrines of Christianity itself. As a matter of fact, both Adam Spencer and those whose views he attacked were as "Orthodox" in their main position as both Joseph John Gurney and John Wilbur had been in theirs. The failure to realize this was part of the tragedy of the whole affair.

Another interesting feature of Adam Spencer's *Testimony* was his objection to certain practices which had crept into Pelham Quarterly Meeting through the agency of the Bible Class. He complains that while Bible Classes had been begun "simply as opportunities for reading and studying the Holy Scriptures", these occasions had gradually developed into regular "religious meetings", and thus, having got outside ordinary disciplinary control, had become the seed ground for many innovations. "The attenders of these meetings", the *Testimony* asserts, "had been publicly exhorted by the individuals assuming the direction thereof, to set up

* The following were some of the views against which *The Testimony* protests: (1) That conversion is instantaneous. (2) That the new birth is a fact and not a process. (3) That the Scriptures being the Words of God, are equal to and one with the Spirit of God. (4) That man has only to believe in what Christ has done for him to obtain remission of sins. (5) That Christ's second appearance without sin unto salvation will be a personal appearance. Etc., etc.—*The Testimony, op. cit.*, pp. 650-651.

The comment of Chief Justice Hagarty on this phase of the question under dispute may well be given:—"I frankly confess that many of them (i.e. the above views) involve metaphysical distinctions and subtleties, which are beyond my mental powers to distinguish, much less to determine. Some of them have engaged the minds of men from the early days of Christianity downwards, and it may be said perhaps without presumption that these attempts to crystallize some of the most profound mysteries of our common faith into dogmatic propositions of verbal exactness and obligation have wrought more evil, and caused more discord and dissention among Christian committees, than almost all other causes or subjects of dispute. There must be some liberty allowed to the individual mind, and also some allowance for the difference in the perceptive faculties of minds, in the interpretation placed on words, sometimes of rather ambiguous import."—*Judgment of Hagarty, C.J.O. Judgments Delivered in Dorland vs. Jones, Court of Appeal, February 25th, 1886, Toronto, 1886, p. 13.*

no standards or make no laws, but just let the Lord work his own ways, as though He created and governed all the universe regardless of law and order". *The Testimony* takes the ground that since those who held these irregular meetings had refused to be amenable to the control of the regular Meetings for Discipline, they had voluntarily severed their connection with, or seceded from the body of Friends properly constituting Norwich Monthly Meeting.

The difficulty in Norwich Monthly Meeting next spread to Pelham Quarterly Meeting, to which Norwich was subordinate, and a division likewise occurred in this meeting. The issue finally came up at Canada Yearly Meeting in 1878, when two sets of minutes were submitted from Pelham Quarterly Meeting—one set being signed by Adam Spencer of Norwich, the other by John R. Harris of Rockwood. A committee, which was appointed by the Yearly Meeting to investigate the matter, gave as its judgment that the minutes signed by John R. Harris should be received by the Yearly Meeting as the true minutes of Pelham Quarterly Meeting. When the Yearly Meeting adopted this report of the committee, Adam Spencer arose in the meeting, stated that he no longer considered himself a member of Canada Yearly Meeting, and voluntarily withdrew.* Five Friends who sympathized with Adam Spencer likewise withdrew at this time as evidence of their protest.† Adam Spencer's withdrawal made necessary the election of a new Clerk, for which responsible position William Spencer was chosen after much discussion; while John Wright was chosen as Assistant Clerk. Both of these appointments were distinctly favourable to the progressive group. The situation was getting somewhat strained; but in the following year there came up a new issue which served to crystallize opposition on both sides, and eventually precipitated a separation in the Yearly Meeting.

* Evidence of James F. Barker for Plaintiffs, *Appeal Book, etc.*, op. cit., vol. i, p. 386.

† I.e., William Valentine, Gilbert Jones, Allan M. Dorland, Levi Varney, John Croure (Cruess?). See Evidence of William Valentine for Defendants, *Appeal Book, op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 490.

This was the request presented to Canada Yearly Meeting by Pelham Quarterly Meeting in 1879, asking that the Book of Discipline then in use should be revised.

It will be remembered that the Discipline adopted by Canada Yearly Meeting at the time of its establishment in 1867 had been the 1859 Discipline of the Mother Yearly Meeting of New York. When, therefore, the question came up of revising the Canadian Discipline, many felt that the simplest way to meet this demand would be by adopting the latest revision of the New York Discipline which had been made just two years previously, in 1877.* A careful comparison of the new Discipline of 1877 with the former Discipline of 1859 will reveal no radical changes. In certain sections of the new Discipline dealing with the observance of some old-time Quaker customs, the former provisions are modified, or, in one or two instances, omitted altogether. The new Discipline, for instance, omits the former provisions with regard to "the observance of days and times", "plainness in dress and address". Instead of the latter injunction, there was inserted a general exhortation to "Christian simplicity" and to a manner of living and general deportment which would manifest that "affections are not set on things of earth". The injunction regarding the use of the plain language was omitted altogether, though the apostolic exhortation, "Let your speech be always with grace", was added.† There was also omitted the provision against "a hireling ministry", or the acceptance of money by a minister of the gospel. These omissions and modifications were all slight in themselves, though at the same time they were significant of a distinct trend within the Society away from many old-time

* A Revision of the Discipline from time to time has been characteristic of the Society of Friends, and shows its adaptability to changing conditions of thought and life. The first Meetings for Discipline in New York were held about 1671 or 1672. In 1762 the first revision of the Discipline was made by New York Yearly Meeting. The Discipline was revised again in 1783, 1800, 1810, 1859, and 1877.

See *Discipline of Society of Friends of New York Yearly Meeting*, New York, 1859, p. 11.

† *Discipline of Society of Friends of Canada Yearly Meeting*, Toronto, 1881, p. 90.

customs and observances. The only marked change in the new Discipline with respect to government and organization was in the manner of choosing Elders, who, instead of serving for life, or until for any cause "they lost their usefulness", were now chosen "to serve for a period of three years".* With regard to doctrine, it will be discovered that certain sections of the old Discipline dealing with the doctrinal views of Friends have been slightly curtailed or amplified, as the case might be, in the new Discipline; while there are also added as footnotes many Scriptural references supporting these doctrinal views. Undoubtedly, the new Discipline of 1877 shifted the emphasis away from certain aspects of traditional Quakerism, and opened the door for further changes in that direction. But at the same time it can be emphatically stated that doctrinally the new Discipline of 1877 remained substantially the same as that of 1859, and that *both* were unimpeachably "Evangelical" and "Orthodox."

When Canada Yearly Meeting met at Pickering in 1880 the question of revising the Discipline, or adopting a new one, was referred, according to the usual procedure, to the Representative Meeting for its consideration. Two sessions of the Representative Meeting were held before a decision was reached. At the second session two visiting Friends from the American Western Yearly Meetings, John Wright, from Ohio, and Amos Kenworthy, from Indiana, were invited to sit with the representatives in their deliberations. The minutes of the Representative Meeting do not reveal what part, if any, these two Friends from the Western Yearly Meetings had in influencing the final decision. But as we know something of Amos Kenworthy's activities in Canada Yearly Meeting, it may be said with certainty that he was strongly in favour of the progressive programme, and impatient of the old Quaker methods. In retrospect it seems distinctly unfortunate that in these two years, 1879 and 1880, there were no Friends from England in attendance at Canada Yearly Meeting to give more balance and poise to its deliberations at a particularly

* *Ibid*, p. 36.

critical moment in its history. After further discussion of the question of the new Discipline, the Representative Meeting finally advised the Yearly Meeting that the New York Discipline of 1877 should be adopted as the Discipline of Canada Yearly Meeting of Friends.*

There is no evidence that at this time any serious objection was raised against the contents of the new Discipline. Three sessions of the Yearly Meeting were devoted to its consideration, during which time it was read clause by clause by the Clerk, Howard Nicholson, and it was finally adopted as a whole by the Yearly Meeting assembled in joint session.† The principal objection made at this time was not with regard to the contents of the Discipline, but against the way it was being passed without first giving the various Quarterly and Monthly Meetings the opportunity to discuss it, or to become thoroughly acquainted with its contents. This was after all a perfectly valid objection, which should have received more consideration by the leaders of the Yearly Meeting. For though the Yearly Meeting undoubtedly had the authority to adopt the new Discipline in the way it did, and though this had been done quite regularly, the procedure of committing the Yearly Meeting as a whole to the new Discipline without giving the opportunity of full discussion in the subordinate meetings was under the circumstances of very questionable wisdom. The progressive party were, however, full of enthusiasm, and impatient of delay, or of anything that might impede those new activities which were engaging the interest and support, especially of the younger members of the Yearly Meeting. Moreover, they were now in a majority and practically controlled the machinery of the Yearly Meeting. Many felt, therefore, that since those who opposed the new Discipline would oppose anything new, and continue to do so on general principles, the sooner the question was settled

* *Minutes Canada Yearly Meeting, 1880*, p. 18.

MSS Minutes Representative Meeting of Canada Yearly Meeting, 1880.

† This is clearly brought out in the evidence of Eliza Varney for the Defendants. *Appeal Book, op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 74. See also evidence of Samuel Rogers for Plaintiffs, *ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 368-369.

the sooner a cause of unsettlement and a stumbling block to progress would be removed.*

This was a serious mistake, however, for the progressive group had by now established such a definite ascendancy in the Yearly Meeting that the adoption of the new Discipline or its rejection would have made little practical difference in carrying out a definitely progressive programme of religious work. For instance, while they had been proceeding under the old Discipline, a "pastoral committee" which had been appointed in 1878† "to visit meetings and families, and to appoint meetings as they believe the Holy Spirit shall direct", reported in the following year that all the meetings had been visited, and that twenty-four special appointed meetings had been held "under members of the committee in West Lake alone. The year after this some forty-five special appointed meetings were held. In 1880 a plan for co-operating with eight American Yearly Meetings in the work of the American Friends' Foreign Missionary Board was adopted by the Yearly Meeting, and representatives from Canada were appointed to act on the Board. The Bible School reports reached their maximum in this year with 1,453 enrolled in First Day Schools; while there were 108 members received by request into the Society, with a total membership of 1,655. The Friends' Seminary, now conducted by the Yearly Meeting at Pickering, and known as Pickering College, was also making satisfactory headway, with promise of filling a very important place in the educational life both of the Society and of the

* See evidence of Samuel Rogers, *ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 369-370. Samuel Rogers said that while personally he favoured letting the matter stand over for another year, he was satisfied to accept the verdict of the Clerk and of the majority of the representatives in favour of immediate adoption. While Samuel Rogers identified himself with the Progressive group, he showed throughout a very moderate and tolerant attitude which was characteristic.

† The committee was first appointed in 1878, though it was not called a "Pastoral Committee" till 1879. The first members of the committee were: William Wetherald, Albert C. Stover, Sarah Jane Barker, Herbert Nicholson, Martha Rogers, Rachel Doyle, Allen Cody, Alexander Derbyshire, Elizabeth C. Garratt, Esli Terrill, William Spencer, James F. Barker, Isabella Stover, Seneca Doan, Mary Starr, Emma Richardson, Stephen Cronkite, Robert Saylor, Eliza Brewer, Lydia M. Haight, Harvey Y. Brundage.—*Minutes Canada Yearly Meeting, 1878*, p. 17.

Province. These were all real and substantial gains which should not have been jeopardized by the illusory satisfaction of adopting a new Discipline, which instead of crowning the edifice of progress—as many hoped—proved to be the means of undermining and weakening the solid gains already achieved.

A final mistake was made when, again contrary to the wishes of a small but persistent minority, the Yearly Meeting adjourned to meet next year at Norwich. This suggestion, like that of the new Discipline, had likewise come from Pelham Quarterly Meeting in 1879. The idea appears to have been that by holding the Yearly Meeting at different places, the influence and inspiration of the annual gathering would be more widely diffused; or as the minute reads, "We do it in the trust that as the church spreads her arms and widens her borders, the Lord will increase us." This was a most praiseworthy motive; nevertheless, under the existing circumstances, and especially since Norwich in Pelham Quarter had been the centre of most of the difficulty thus far, wisdom would seem to have dictated holding the Yearly Meeting in a more neutral place.

The last item of business passed before adjournment in 1880 also had a sting in it. This drew the attention of subordinate meetings to "their duty when and as soon as the new Discipline comes into force, to appoint under the provisions of the same, *Elders for three years, those at present appointed to that service continuing only until such appointments are made.*"* To the older heads of the meeting the principle of elected Elders meant only one thing, and that was the determination of the younger and more aggressive element to capture for themselves the leadership of the Society. This had already been largely accomplished in the Yearly Meeting organization, so that those who opposed these changes returned to their own meetings determined to face if need be the crisis of separation rather than completely to lose control of the affairs of the Society. The concluding minute of the Women's Meeting stated that, "although we have not been able to see eye

* *Minutes Canada Yearly Meeting, 1880, Minute No. 61, p. 32.*
The italics are mine.

to eye in some of the business of the Church as brought before us, yet the Lord has been graciously pleased to give the spirit of submission on the part of such"; but, unfortunately, this was a pious aspiration rather than a statement of fact. The Progressive party undoubtedly showed a very moderate spirit in the hour of victory; but a more loving and discerning spirit would have been willing to forego even the satisfaction of such a victory in the interests of real, spiritual unity and peace. Lacking this there could be no real victory at all.

No useful purpose would be served by tracing the steps of the separation down further into all the subordinate meetings. Something ought to be said, however, regarding West Lake Quarter, which after the Yearly Meeting of 1880 became the main centre of difficulty. This was due to the lamentable dispute over the possession of the Bloomfield property, which was decided in favour of the Progressive group, and secured for them legal recognition as the Society of Friends in Canada. The adoption of the new Discipline by West Lake Quarterly Meeting, in sixth month, 1880, had been opposed in vain by the same group of Friends which had opposed it in the Yearly Meeting, including Allen M. Dorland, who was Clerk of the Quarterly Meeting. Immediately after the meeting in sixth month, William Valentine invited a few Friends to meet at his house "to see what could be done in the present situation of the Society."* It was at this time, therefore, that the conservative element first decided as a group to withdraw from the existing organization of Canada Yearly Meeting. Correspondence was established with their sympathizers in Norwich, and it was presently determined to form their own organization, which would meet the following year at Pickering, as Canada Yearly Meeting of Friends, thereby defying the decision of the last Yearly Meeting to convene at Norwich in Sixth Month, 1881. With this object in view the conservative group in West Lake determined to withdraw from the

* There were present at this meeting : William Valentine, Mary Ann Valentine, Eliza Varney, Lydia M. Haight, Elizabeth Haight, Sarah M. Ellsworth, Thomas Robinson, Jr., Matilda Branscombe, Sarah Leavens, Daniel Haight. See, Evidence of William Valentine, *Appeal Book*, vol. ii, p. 491.

existing Monthly and Preparative Meetings, and hereafter to hold their meetings separately. Accordingly, in Second Month, 1881, they brought the matter before West Lake Preparative Meeting, and after some discussion which seems to have been conducted in an entirely friendly spirit, it was agreed that they might have the use of the Bloomfield Meeting House at stated times in order to hold their meetings separately. Their further request, however, to appoint caretakers of their own for the meeting house was not granted, inasmuch as certain caretakers were already appointed by the existing Preparative Meeting, and were responsible to it for the care of the property. This decision caused the parting of the ways. For that little assembly of Friends who parted company at Bloomfield in the 10th of February, 1881,* never again worshipped together as a united religious group.

This final decision to separate hardened resistance on both sides. And though the actual break, as described above, was effected without any exhibition of ill will at the time on either side, the differences which before had been chiefly regarding principles, now tended to become personal as well, and decidedly more bitter. Former friends became estranged and even families were sundered. One of the leaders of the Conservative Friends, while driving home, met one of the leaders on the opposite side at a narrow point in the road and, by refusing to turn out, compelled his opponent to take the ditch. But when the son of the latter Friend openly threatened that he would horsewhip the offender if he should ever meet him on the public highway, this did not serve to improve

* This was the real date of the Separation in Canada. The later gathering of the Conservative group in their Yearly Meeting held at Pickering in the same year, marked the perfecting of their plans and separate organization. For this reason I have continually spoken of the "Separation of 1881" in Canada. Rufus M. Jones speaks of the Separation as occurring in 1884 (See, *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, vol. ii, p. 902); but this was the date of the first decision given by Mr. Justice Proudfoot in favour of the Conservative Friends in the trial over the West Lake property. The real Separation came three years earlier, in 1881. No attempt has been made before this to deal with the question historically and critically, which the author hopes has been impartially done in these pages, and which also reveals that all the mistakes were not made by *one* side.

matters. It is fortunate that violence of this kind did not occur, though partisans on both sides were quite angry enough to have resorted to it, if the occasion had arisen. It should be pointed out in all fairness to both sides, however, that a great deal of mischief was made by persons, some of whom had no standing in the Society at all or had been disowned, but whose interest and enthusiasm immediately revived with the prospect of trouble, and who became aggressive partisans on either side.

In 1881, when Canada Yearly Meeting assembled at Norwich, the Conservative Friends, according to prearrangement, met at Pickering in the Friends' Yearly Meeting House, which they forthwith occupied and claimed as their property. At first this claim was not contested, though when Canada Yearly Meeting met at Pickering in 1882, 1883, and 1884, it was compelled to use the Methodist Church as its place of meeting. But since the Yearly Meeting still controlled the valuable college building and property at Pickering, this was considered more or less as a *quid pro quo*. There was, therefore, no real difficulty over the Yearly Meeting property till trouble developed in West Lake.

When it became perfectly evident that the Conservative Friends had actually effected a separate organization and Yearly Meeting, it was decided by West Lake Monthly Meeting held in Twelfth Month, 1882, to exclude them from further use of the Bloomfield meeting house, which they had been using for their separate meetings during the past two years. When the meeting house was closed against them, several members of the Conservative group, assisted by some other individuals who really had no connection with the Society, forcibly entered the building on the day before Christmas, 1882. Despite the fact that the entrance to the grounds had been fastened, and the meeting house further secured by the caretakers, the premises were again forcibly entered on the 27th of December. In this fracas, the gate was forced open, the meeting house door was partly torn from its hinges, a window was smashed and pried open with crow-bars, and a most unseemly scuffle occurred when the three

caretakers who were inside the building tried to prevent the entrance of the intruders.

The precipitate action of Gilbert Jones, and of those who assisted him on these two occasions to gain possession of the Bloomfield meeting house by force, now placed the Conservative group completely in the wrong. For while claiming to represent Quakerism in its purest form, nothing could have been more remote from its real spirit and method than such unwarranted and violent behaviour. Many of the Conservative Friends regretted this incident; but they could hardly escape from the commitments involved, or from the legal consequences of this act. In self defence the Friends of West Lake Monthly Meeting now felt compelled to invoke the protection of the law in order to secure the peaceable possession of their property. While conceding to their opponents the right of withdrawing from Canada Yearly Meeting, the progressive majority refused to recognize the claim now put forward by the Conservative minority to withdraw from the existing organization, and at the same time to take with them both the property and the name of the Society. Hence the dispute over the West Lake property became a test case involving the issue as to which party was the legal possessor of the property and of the name of the Society in Canada.

The trial took place in the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice held at Belleville, October, 1883. In January, 1884, Mr. Justice Proudfoot gave his decision in favour of the Conservative Friends, by which the action against them (the Defendants) was dismissed with costs. This decision was promptly appealed by the Plaintiffs to the Supreme Court of Ontario, where the former decision in favour of the Defendants was reversed.* The Defendants thereupon appealed the case to the Supreme Court of Canada,

* See *Judgment Delivered in Dorland vs. Jones, Court of Appeal, February 25th, 1886*, Toronto, 1886. This contains the written judgments of Mr. Justice Hagarty, C.J.O., and of Mr. Justice Patterson.

See also *Appeal from the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice. John T. Dorland, Plaintiff, and Gilbert Jones, Defendant*, Belleville, 1884, 2 vols., 747 pages. This contains all the evidence and many documents used as official exhibits by both sides.

which sustained the decision of the Ontario Court of Appeal in favour of the Plaintiffs.*

No attempt will be made to review the main arguments presented by either side which influenced the various decisions rendered in this case.† The narrative of events leading up to the Separation reveals that both sides made serious mistakes. As has been shown, the passing of the new Discipline in 1880 was perfectly legal, but whether it was, under the circumstances, just or expedient is another question which the reader may answer for himself. On the other hand, the new Discipline introduced no doctrinal changes, and there was nothing in it which placed the seal of authority or sanction on certain practices which had crept into the Society that were admittedly quite un-Quakerly. It was therefore hardly fair to hold the entire Yearly Meeting responsible for the conduct of certain persons who were not members of the Yearly Meeting, and whose activities had been limited to certain localities in it. Those who protested against these innovations should have first appealed to the Yearly Meeting as the final authority before defying that authority, and forcing an appeal to litigation where the claims of the Defendants were decidedly weakened by their acts of aggression on December 24th and 27th, 1882.

A point of legal interest in connection with establishing the title of the West Lake property in favour of Canada Yearly Meeting of Friends was the recognition of the existing organization by the Mother Yearly Meeting of London. It appears that in the deed of 1835 which renewed the earlier deeds since 1821, when the West Lake property was first conveyed, there had been inserted a clause which said that the Trustees were to control the property for West Lake Monthly Meeting "so long as the members constituting it

* *Supreme Court Reports*, vol. xiv, p. 39.

† J. M. Clark, M.A., LL.B., *The Quakers in Canada*, Canadian Encyclopædia, Toronto, vol. iv, p. 154. This contains a useful discussion of the legal aspects of the case by a trained lawyer, in which he says, "several important legal principles in regard to church property and organization were laid down and established".

shall remain and from time to time be continued in religious unity with the Yearly Meeting of Friends (called Quakers) as now established in London (Old England)'. The insertion of this clause was reminiscent of the Hicksite Controversy of 1828, and was clearly intended to safeguard the use of the property for the Orthodox branch of Friends. But the official recognition by London Yearly Meeting of the Gurneyite (Progressive) Friends to the exclusion of the Wilburite groups at the time of the Second Separation, and the official connection which had subsequently been established by Canada Yearly Meeting with London Yearly Meeting,* and with the Orthodox Yearly Meetings in the United States, were now invoked as evidence of the official status of Canada Yearly Meeting and of its legal claim to all property under dispute. This fact had considerable weight in the judgment of the courts given in favour of the Progressive group.

Canadian Friends also derived, at this time, much comfort and assistance from the presence of visiting Friends from England. Coming as they did from a distance and away from centres of controversy, they possessed a detachment and charity which were of the greatest assistance to Friends in Canada during the trying period after 1881. In 1883 Isaac Sharp, Alfred Wright, and William King Baker, of London Yearly Meeting, attended Canada Yearly Meeting, as well as visiting many of the subordinate meetings. A definite effort was made by these visitors to bring about at this time a reconciliation among Friends.† But while this was secured in some individual cases, the separation had already gone too far and too many serious commitments had been made by

* In 1884 Canada Yearly Meeting officially adopted as a *Synopsis of Christian Faith and Doctrine*, certain portions of the *Book of Christian Discipline*, issued by the Yearly Meeting of London in 1883. These portions, contained in the first 28 pages and entitled, *Christian Doctrine*, and pp. 64-65 and 66, being Section III, Chapter IV, of that part entitled *Christian Practice*, were printed as a pamphlet entitled, *A Statement of Some Points of Christian Doctrine and Practice of the Society of Friends in Canada*, Toronto, 1884. In this same year J. B. Braithwaite, Thomas Harvey, William Robinson, and Thomas Pumphrey were present at Canada Yearly Meeting as official representatives from London Yearly Meeting.

† William King Baker, *Life of John T. Dorland*, London, 1898, pp. 51-52.

either side to bridge over the widening gap, particularly in West Lake, where, as we have seen, litigation had already been invoked. In 1884, London Yearly Meeting officially appointed a delegation to visit Friends in Canada, consisting of Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, Thomas Harvey, Thomas Pumphrey, William Robinson. The most prominent figure among them was Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, the distinguished author of the life of Joseph John Gurney and "a distinctly leading influence in the direct Gurney succession, an interesting personality, a great student of the Church Fathers, and a Friend whose life was saturated with the fragrance of the New Testament atmosphere in which he lived". The counsel and ministry of all these Friends were very helpful at this time. But while they themselves were strongly in sympathy with the evangelical movement, they had a firm grasp of Quaker essentials which had been lacking in several leaders from the Western Yearly Meetings who at first had taken such a prominent part in the Revival Movement in Canada. After the return of the English delegation, three of their number, Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, William Robinson, and Thomas Pumphrey, issued *A Loving Salutation*,* which clearly reveals their deep sympathy with the spiritual awakening among Canadian Friends, and at the same time their grip of those essentials of Quakerism which made distinctive its ideas of worship, of ministry, and of the sacraments. Indeed it might well be maintained that if the English Friends who came over to Canada between 1882 and 1886 could have come to Canada during the far more critical years immediately preceding 1880, there might not have been a separation in Canada. It is, however, comparatively easy for the historian with all the evidence before him to be wise *after* the event. The tragedy was the lack of leaders possessing sufficient historical insight, vision, and charity to have been wise *before* the event.

Before the final decision was given by the Supreme Court in favour of Canada Yearly Meeting of Friends, and when the issue was still in doubt, the leaders of the Progressive group

* *A Loving Salutation from the Deputation Appointed by London Yearly Meeting in 1884 to All Friends in Canada*, London, 1885.

exhibited a very commendable spirit of reconciliation. It was a pity that these moderating influences had not come into play sooner. Without question the presence of the delegation of English Friends in 1884 had materially helped to bring about this change. In 1884 a resolution was passed by the Representative Meeting of Canada Yearly Meeting stating that: "Notwithstanding its decision to prosecute the appeal (from Judge Proudfoot's decision in favour of the Conservative Friends) this meeting wishes to record on our minutes our willingness now and at all times, even if we should be successful in the Appeal, to negotiate with the other party with a view to amicable adjustment of all property belonging to the Society in Canada." The Yearly Meeting also issued an Advice to the subordinate meetings encouraging "the Monthly Meetings to proceed kindly and in the spirit of restoring love in all cases of Friends who are not in unity with us, or who evidently wish to be released from membership; and we empower them in all such cases to release them without further care. To facilitate this, we recommend Monthly Meetings to appoint committees who shall, before such action, give deliberate consideration to each case; and this Meeting wishes it to be distinctly understood that no undue advantage is to be taken of this power."*

After 1886, when the Supreme Court had definitely settled the issue in favour of Canada Yearly Meeting, the Representative Meeting advised the Yearly Meeting "to take all necessary steps for obtaining possession of the Yearly Meeting House and all real estate connected therewith, and to make such disposal of the same as they might deem expedient, and to the best interests of the Society, and also with the sanction of the subordinate meetings to take all necessary proceedings to recover all trust funds and to take possession of, or to sell, or dispose of all other church property within the limits of the Yearly Meeting, as they may deem advisable and in the best interests of the different meetings holding the same". The committee which was appointed to carry out

* *Minutes of Canada Yearly Meeting, 1884*, pp. 9-10.

this important work consisted of Samuel Rogers, Charles Treffry, John R. Harris, Cyrus Sing, Elias Rogers.* The wide powers conferred upon this committee were quite justified by the completeness of the legal verdict given by the law courts in favour of Canada Yearly Meeting of Friends. It is pleasant to record, however, that this legal victory was used with the greatest possible moderation. While the bulk of the Yearly Meeting property was retained by the Progressive Friends, the Yearly Meeting House and grounds, which for sentimental reasons, if for no other, they might have retained, were left in possession of the Conservative Friends who had occupied them since the fateful parting of the ways in 1881. The valuable school property at Pickering was retained by Canada Yearly Meeting. But while this was an asset, it was also at this particular time a heavy liability, since the cost of new equipment and mounting expenses had considerably increased its indebtedness. Indeed it was found necessary to close the School for a time, though it was reopened again in the autumn of 1892 to start on the most successful period of its history. In Pelham Quarterly Meeting there were certain trust funds to which the Progressive Friends were legally entitled, but to avoid dispute over the possession of them, they were allowed to lapse in favour of the Conservative Friends.

While these concessions with regard to the settlement of property served, in some degree at least, to mitigate the bitterness of separation, they came too late to bridge the gap which had already been made. From this distance we can now see that any concessions which either side might have made prior to 1881 would have been preferable to litigation or to the regrettable notoriety which the law suit occasioned. Indeed the good, old name of "Friend" never again had quite the same true ring in Canada after this lamentable episode; while both branches of Friends suffered material and spiritual losses, which only Time and a return to the broad, inclusive spirit of Quakerism can recover.

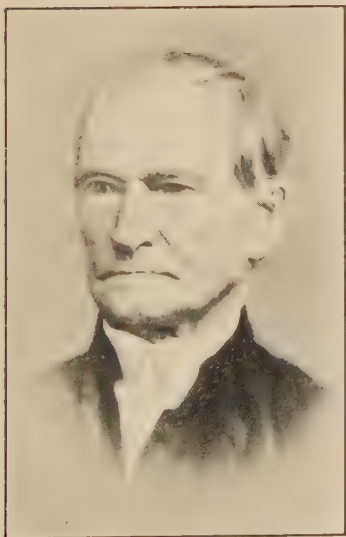
* *Minutes of Canada Yearly Meeting, 1887*, pp. 15-16.



William Wetherald



Eliza Varney



Sunderland P. Gardiner



Serena Minard

CHAPTER XIV

THE ORTHODOX BRANCHES OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN CANADA SINCE 1881

CANADA YEARLY MEETING OF CONSERVATIVE FRIENDS (*Wilburite*)

CANADA YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS (*Gurneyite*)

THE Separation between the Conservative and Progressive Friends in Canada Yearly Meeting in 1881 served to accentuate extreme tendencies and characteristics in each group. This was, on the whole, unfortunate, as each branch really needed the balance and poise that the other would have helped it to achieve. On the one hand, the Progressive group was inclined to go too far in the direction of innovations that were out of accord with the real genius of Quakerism; while on the other hand, the Conservatives were inclined to draw back into the old shell of Quietism which the Society had outgrown since the rebirth of the missionary spirit and the new vision of service which had come as a result of the Evangelical movement and its culmination in the Great Revival.

Canada Yearly Meeting of Conservative Friends

The old forms of the Quietistic period were now invoked by the Conservative branch against all the evidences of "creaturely activity" which they believed characterized the new forms of worship and of religious work as practised by the Progressive branch. The Conservative Friends conceived it to be their peculiar mission to reaffirm and to preserve the ancient forms of Quakerism in all their purity against this new spirit of innovation. "Great is our responsibility", they said, "and great is the need of care that we enter not upon

anything either as individuals or as meetings without Divine direction and help.”* “Keep low, keep quiet, mind our own particular calling, our inward condition, and feel the Lord inwardly as the rock and sanctuary where none can make afraid.”† They devoutly asked to be “preserved from endeavouring to increase our numbers or to retain what we have by lowering the standards of ancient Quakerism to suit those who desire an easier way than that cast up for the ransomed and redeemed to walk in”.‡ They accordingly felt it their duty to bear witness to the traditions of a “peculiar people”, believing that to deviate in example from plainness of dress, language, deportment, was removing of the “ancient landmarks”, and that while “conforming to these peculiar testimonies may bring scoff and reproach from the world”, it would be “as a hedge from the wiles of the enemy”. “God’s people have always been a peculiar people, separated from the world and worldly things. The command is, wherefore come ye out from among them, and be ye separate saith the Lord.”§

This “winnowed remnant” of the Society of Friends in Canada has, therefore, largely restricted its efforts to guarding those things which yet remain of the ancient traditions. Their meetings are largely held in silence, and they have made no concerted effort to reach those outside their own little circle. They are careful to encourage good works, but have not taken part in organized philanthropic or missionary work. First Day Schools have been carried on in a few centres, but the objection to singing or to any form of music has rather limited efforts in this direction.

One of the most valuable philanthropic undertakings of this branch of Friends has been in connection with the assistance given to the Doukhobors at the time of their first settlement

* *Epistle from Western Yearly Meeting, 1890 to Canada Yearly Meeting of Friends (Conservative).*

† *Epistle from Kansas Yearly Meeting (Conservative) to Canada Yearly Meeting, 1886.*

‡ *Epistle from New England Yearly Meeting, 1902.*

§ *Minute of Advice, from Canada Yearly Meeting (Conservative) 1889.*

in the Canadian West. Eliza H. Varney, of Bloomfield, Ontario, a valued minister of the Society, was able to bring both physical and spiritual succour to these unfortunate people, in connection with the work organized by a group of Philadelphia Friends, of whom the most prominent was Joseph Elkington. Associated with Eliza Varney was Miss Nellie Baker, of Kingston. Miss Baker did valuable work teaching the Doukhobor children, who proved to be apt pupils under her kindly and skilful direction. This was (on the part of both these Friends) a genuine labour of love. The gratitude and affection of these needy people to whom they ministered was their only reward.*

The largest group of Conservative Friends in Canada is situated in Norwich Quarter; though they maintained for a number of years several small meetings in both Yonge Street and West Lake Quarters. From 1881 down to 1918 their Yearly Meeting was held in the original Yearly Meeting House at Pickering. But in recent years, since their most populous centre has always been at Norwich, they have held their annual gathering principally at this place. Their meeting house is pleasantly situated within the town of Norwich. The Clerk of their Yearly Meeting for a number of years has been Mordecai F. Starr, of Newmarket, Ontario. At the present time (1927) this branch of Friends maintains meetings at Yonge Street (near Newmarket), Pickering, Mariposa, Wellington, Norwich, and Winnipeg. The last available statistics in 1899 gave their numbers as 316, out of a total of 4,329 members in America who belong to this branch of the Society of Friends (Wilburite).

While the Friends belonging to this little group have touched life at few points, and their influence has necessarily been within a very restricted area, yet in their group life they have consistently manifested those virtues of sober, simple, Christian living and character so long associated with the Society of Friends. In an age when so much emphasis is placed on wealth and display, it would seem that there was

* Joseph Elkington, *The Doukhobors*, Philadelphia, 1903.

still a useful place for some of the old Quaker testimonies so courageously and consistently maintained by this little branch of the Society.

*Canada Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends**

Though the Revival Movement which had spread from the Western Yearly Meetings to Canada had been one of the immediate reasons for the Separation of 1881, it had also brought about, for the time being at least, a notable increase of interest and life within the Society. In fact such a marked transformation took place at this time that it produced an entirely new type of Quakerism in the American West and in Canada. These changes were especially noticeable in the Progressive branch of Canada Yearly Meeting.

Quaker meetings which before the Revival had been held in such silence as to induce drowsiness, now became filled with a new interest and life. Singing was introduced, and preaching was enlivened with anecdote and illustration. Former members with their children, who had drifted off into other denominations, came back into the now warmer and more congenial religious fellowship of the Progressive branch of the Society. There was also a considerable relaxation in the enforcement of the Discipline. Many of the old rules were either annulled or allowed to become a dead letter. The general attitude in the enforcement of discipline became one of encouragement toward the weak, and the restoration of those who had gone astray, rather than of judging with a view to cutting off the offender. Young people, among others, were encouraged to come forward in Christian profession and public testimony. "The long agony and travail of spirit which preceded vocal utterance and breaking of silence became a thing of the past. The habit and attitude of speech were cultivated. It became

* This branch has been variously designated since the Separation of 1881 as *Gurneyite*, *Liberal*, *Progressive*, *Fast*, or *New Lights*. I have used *Progressive* as being on the whole more accurate, and in one or two instances less opprobrious, than some of the other names. I have avoided *Liberal* as opposed to *Conservative* as having too much of political associations.

easy and natural to communicate. Vocal prayer had always been a weighty matter with Friends. One prayed, or ‘appeared in supplication’, as they called it, only when the ‘moving’ was so powerful that it could no longer be resisted. When the worshipper knelt, the entire congregation uncovered, for the men usually wore their hats until prayer was offered, and soberly rose and stood while the kneeling suppliant voiced the needs of the whole group. It was no light or easy exercise to engage in.” Now the practice of standing during the offering of prayer passed away, along with other customs which might serve as a restraint on vocal utterance. Whatever was lost in the sense of reverent awe, in congregational responsibility, or in main dependence on Divine leading, something was gained in the fresh interest and enthusiasm which was evident in many meetings where these new methods were adopted. Young people who before had a very small place and were pretty consistently kept in the background, were now encouraged to take a larger part in the affairs of the Society.* Things were made easier for them in every way, and there was a notable response among the young people of the Society to this appeal.

The most notable transformation was, however, in the mode of worship and in the changed basis of the Quaker ministry. There was, for instance, a marked tendency to get away from the old, congregational meeting for worship held on the basis of silence, to a more programmatic type of service in which one person assumed the burden of responsibility for the meeting.

The spread of Revivalism throughout the Society had greatly increased this tendency. At first it might be a travelling

* The following extract from the *Minute of Advice* sent down by Canada Yearly Meeting to its subordinate meetings in 1879, expresses this thought: “We tenderly enjoin our older Friends to look well to their younger brethren and sisters who are alive in the truth. Do not be fearful of bringing them into active service. Do not have the same repetition of a few names on your committees. In choosing Representatives, mingle the ardour of devoted youth with the prudence of serene old age. Under the guidance of the Holy Spirit find a place for youthful energy and zeal in all the service of the church. And, dear young Friends, let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom, in order that ye may be fitted and willing to answer the call of the church.”

evangelist who assumed the leadership in a meeting. Then the evangelist might reside temporarily within the limits of a meeting to assist in its affairs, and to shepherd recent converts. From this by imperceptible steps there developed resident pastors who virtually took charge of the meeting. From this to a more or less professional ministry it was but a short step. These final steps, however, were not always taken either by individual ministers or by meetings. The old Quaker ideals of individualism and of a lay religion have somehow militated against a complete commitment to the idea of professional religious leadership as accepted by other Christian denominations. There was, therefore, with respect to the use of the so-called "pastoral system" a wide variation of practice among the Progressive Friends in Canada, depending upon local feeling and conditions. In some instances where the pastoral system was adopted, it lacked both the financial and moral support which was necessary to make it a success. But on the other hand, there was not developed a type of leadership in many of the more isolated, rural meetings which would enable them to dispense altogether with a paid leader or pastor. Lacking this leadership, many meetings have gone down altogether; whereas a local pastor might not only have kept the group together, but might have made it the nucleus for further growth. The practical result has been that this branch of Friends in Canada has fallen between two stools. For though aware of certain advantages of the pastoral system, and willing to experiment with it, Friends have not, generally speaking, adopted it with sufficient heartiness to make it a success in Canada. The tenacity with which the old Quaker tradition of a free gospel ministry has persevered illustrates some of the difficulties in attempting to re-graft on the stem of Quakerism a branch of ecclesiasticism which was pruned away when the Society was first established.

The Society of Friends in England has quite recently gone all the way in the direction of a free lay ministry by ceasing to "record" ministers at all, in the belief that this will

involve less distinction in the exercise of spiritual gifts, and tend to encourage among the rank and file of the membership a greater sense of responsibility for the religious exercise of meetings for worship. In older communities, as in Great Britain and in parts of the United States, this may be feasible; but its success depends in a large measure on a sufficient number of educated as well as consecrated folk among the rank and file to produce a helpful type of leadership. In newer countries these conditions do not obtain to the same degree, owing to different social, economic, and geographical factors which need not be discussed here. But it is chiefly for this reason that in the American Middle West, or in newer countries generally, it has been found necessary to give one person the education, time, and financial support to develop qualities of leadership which very few, if any, of the rank and file of the members could attain in a lifetime.

The danger, so far as the Society of Friends is concerned, lies in the development of a professional type of minister who does the thinking and most of the worshipping for the members of the congregation, who, in turn, are content to remain spectators rather than real participators in the religious exercise of worship with the loss of a sense of personal individual responsibility which inevitably follows. This would completely subvert the basic principle of the priesthood of believers and of congregational worship under the direct guidance of the Holy Spirit for which Quakerism has always stood.

Experience seems to show, however, that as the spiritual and educational level of a meeting is raised the danger of this happening becomes more and more remote; while the remedy always lies in the hands of the meeting itself. No more consecrated and self-effacing men or women ever lived than the Quaker pastors. If a free lay ministry has declined it has been due to a voluntary abdication of their rights on the part of the members of the meeting and a shirking of personal responsibility because it was the easiest way. But real Quakerism, we venture to think, has never stood for the easiest

way nor for second hand experience; but ever for the hard path of individual discovery, of personal sharing and giving of one's self in service. This lay conception of religion is not only essentially democratic, but it upholds "the oneness of humanity"; or as Whittier has put it in his poem, "The Meeting":—

Where farmer-folk in silence meet—
I turn my bell-unsummoned feet;
I lay the critic's glass aside,
I tread upon my lettered pride,
And, lowest seated, testify
To the oneness of humanity.

Such a conception is of course only possible where religion is conceived more in terms of experience than of intellect, and it is essentially mystical. This is, we believe, strictly in accord with the real genius of Quakerism.

The methods of Evangelism employed during the Great Revival were at first attended with a large measure of success in Canada. The religious life of many a young Friend was quickened and his interest enlisted when otherwise he might have been lost to the Society. But at the same time there were swept indiscriminately into the Society, during a period of emotional excitement, a great many people who were not convinced Friends and who really knew little of their ideals or methods. Many of these sooner or later drifted off into other denominations, and thus were lost so far as the Society was concerned. It was precisely here that a more thoroughgoing acceptance of the pastoral system might have saved the Society from many of these losses. The net result was that much of this early evangelistic effort built up other churches at the expense of the Society of Friends in Canada. Several valued ministers, who at first had been prominently connected with the Revival movement, later joined other evangelical denominations whose methods they had been largely employing, in whose religious fellowship they experienced more liberty, and among whom they received more support. One is, therefore, forced to conclude that in spite of an apparent expansion in the years immediately after the Separation, the Great

Revival brought no permanent accession either of strength or of numbers to the Orthodox branch of Friends in Canada. And, while admitting great spiritual gains which cannot be measured by statistics alone, one might fairly question whether these gains were in the long run adequate compensation for the loss of religious fellowship and unity within the Society itself, resulting from the Separation of 1881.

One of the most permanent and far reaching results of the Revival during the 'eighties in Canada Yearly Meeting was the development of the work of Foreign Missions. The claims of this work had first been presented to the Yearly Meeting in 1880, and as a result the Yearly Meeting had secured representation on the newly formed American Friends' Missionary Board. The first definite piece of missionary work to enlist the support of Canadian Friends was in Mexico. It was brought to their attention through the presence at Canada Yearly Meeting in 1881 of Samuel A. Purdie, a missionary from Mexico. Elizabeth Comstock, who was also present at this Yearly Meeting, solicited the support of Friends for the magnificent work in which she was engaged among the coloured refugees in Kansas.

In 1884, at Norwich Quarterly Meeting, through the counsel and advice of two visiting Friends, John Pennington and Lydia G. Romick, was organized the first Women's Foreign Missionary Society, which in a few years became the principal channel for missionary effort throughout the Yearly Meeting.*

In 1888, in co-operation with Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, the beginning was made of missionary work in Japan which since this time has largely absorbed the interest of Canadian Friends in the foreign field. William V. Wright, of Pickering, a talented young Friend and a graduate of the University of Toronto, first offered himself for this service. But unfortunately, after two years of self-sacrificing labour

* The first officers of the W.F.M.S. were : President, Bessie Dorland, Wellington ; Treasurer, Mariana Harris, Rockwood ; Corresponding Secretary, Phebe J. Wright, Pickering. In 1925 the name of the organization was changed to "The Foreign Missionary Society of Canada Yearly Meeting of Friends."

in Japan, he was compelled to return home on account of ill-health. He died not long after, having given all that he had of ability and strength to the work of the foreign field. In 1893 Gurney Binford, of Haviland, Kansas, became the special representative of Canadian Friends' work in Japan. He later found a help-mate and co-worker in his wife Elizabeth G. Binford. The devoted labours of these two missionaries and of the native helpers whom they trained, have contributed much to the upbuilding of the present native Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends in Japan.

Since 1900 Canada Yearly Meeting, through the personal visit and appeal of Willis R. Hotchkiss, has contributed to the support of the Friends' Industrial Mission in East Africa.

These missionary efforts have aroused a great deal of interest throughout the Yearly Meeting, and they have been important channels of influence from this little group of Friends, despite their isolation and fewness in numbers. As already noted, the other two branches of Friends in Canada have limited their efforts to philanthropic and charitable work, in which the Hicksite Friends have been more particularly active.

Further evidence of new life within Canada Yearly Meeting after 1881 was the organization by young Friends of the first Christian Endeavour Society, in 1892. The idea of this organization was borrowed chiefly from the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, among which at this time it was enjoying an especial vogue.* Flourishing Christian Endeavour Societies were established in many quarters of the Yearly Meeting; and one has only to glance over their officers to realize that from their number were drawn many of the later leaders of the Society. The organization was not permanent, however, though after lapsing for a number of years it was revived again in 1908. This new organization was more

* The first Society of Christian Endeavour was organized by Francis Edward Clark (a native of Aylmer, Quebec) in Portland, Maine, in 1881. The earliest organization in Canada was in 1883 in Germain St. Baptist Church, St. John, N.B. —*Vide*, John T. McNeill, *The Presbyterian Church in Canada*, Toronto, 1925, pp. 172-173.

distinctly a Young Friends' Movement, and it was far more self-conscious of the distinctive character and mission of Quakerism than was the earlier organization. In fact in recent years there has been a distinct renaissance of Quakerism among Young Friends throughout the whole Society both in Great Britain and on the American Continent. From this direction has come the most potent impulse toward a union of all the branches of the Society in America. To the youth of this generation the religious differences of the past have no reality.

Recognition of the sweeping changes that had come over the Orthodox branch of the Society of Friends in America, suggested calling a World Conference of all Friends in correspondence with London Yearly Meeting for the purpose of reviewing the general position of the Society and, if necessary, of restating its views. This important suggestion, which first came from Indiana Yearly Meeting in 1886, resulted in calling the now famous Richmond Conference, which met at Richmond, Indiana, in the autumn of 1887. There were present delegates from ten Orthodox Yearly Meetings on the American Continent, and there were also present delegates from London and from Dublin Yearly Meetings.* Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was not officially represented, though several of its members were present and participated in the proceedings of the Conference. Canada Yearly Meeting was represented by five delegates: Howard Nicholson, John T. Dorland, Jr., John R. Harris, Samuel Rogers, Hannah Jane Cody.

The Richmond Conference of 1887 was unique in the history of Quakerism, as the first occasion when delegates from Europe and the American Continent had ever assembled in such a capacity. It was understood that the proceedings of the Conference were to be advisory only, and that the Yearly Meetings represented were not committed by their delegates to the findings of the Conference. A great many controversial questions were discussed during the Conference

* Joseph Bevan Braithwaite was the outstanding member of the English delegation, and he took an important part in the proceedings of the Conference. He spoke nineteen times during the three days conference.

with great frankness and in a truly Christian spirit. While there was evidently a wide variation of sentiment with regard to the use of certain methods of religious work, there was a pretty general recognition of the fact that local circumstances and needs differed widely, and that there might be a genuine degree of spiritual unity without a rigid uniformity in these matters. The question of water baptism and observance of the ordinances which had unsettled the minds of many Friends—especially in Ohio Yearly Meeting through the preaching and practice of David B. Updegraff, the most radical of the Evangelical leaders—was not discussed by the Conference. It was decided that the position of Friends with regard to the ordinances had been so clearly stated on many previous occasions that it might be regarded as settled without taking up the time of the Conference to discuss it further.

The most concrete result of the Conference was the formulation of what is known as the "Richmond Declaration of Faith".* Many delegates were opposed to the formulation of such a document at all, which they believed would be too much like adopting a set creed. It was pointed out that the Society of Friends had never been tied down by a formal creed, and that this had been one of its most distinctive and useful contributions to the religious experience and thought of the world. On the other hand, those engaged in evangelical and pastoral work were very keen to have some resumé of Friends' doctrine which could be placed in the hands of enquirers or of recent converts for their information and guidance. They were accordingly strongly in favour of drawing up a Declaration of Faith.

As is generally the case under such circumstances, the Declaration finally issued by the Richmond Conference was a compromise between two opposite extremes, and it satisfied no one completely. It contained nothing that was in any sense a fresh interpretation of Quakerism, but was in the main

* *Vide, Declaration of Christian Doctrine, in Proceedings of the General Conference of Friends, held in Richmond, Indiana, 1887, Richmond, Indiana, 1887, pp. 24-43.*

a summary of extracts from Disciplines already in use. Many felt that it did not affirm with sufficient clearness some of the most vital truths of Quakerism, and that it tended to substitute a religion of external authority for a religion of the inner, experimental type peculiar to the Quaker faith. This dissatisfaction was reflected in the way the Declaration was subsequently received by several of the Yearly Meetings represented. London and New England Yearly Meetings refused to adopt it; while Dublin, New York, and Baltimore, though expressing a general approval of it, likewise refused formally to adopt it. The remaining Orthodox Yearly Meetings in America, including Canada, adopted the Declaration in 1888.*

The Richmond Declaration of Faith probably conformed more nearly to the standards of ordinary evangelical denominations than any Declaration that had preceded it; while Rufus M. Jones has characterized it as "the culmination of Gurneyism". One may fairly question, however, whether the Yearly Meetings which adopted the Declaration were really more "Gurneyite" in doctrine than those which did not, or that the former necessarily represented a brand of Quakerism inferior to the latter. The cleavage revealed by the adoption or rejection of the Declaration was, generally speaking, less doctrinal than it was geographical and social. It will be observed that the Yearly Meetings adopting it were practically all in the American Middle West, and represented a more or less geographical and social unit. They took this step believing that it would help to create a common basis for certain methods of church organization and worship which they thought were best suited to their peculiar circumstances and needs. Canada Yearly Meeting, recognizing the similarity of its situation and requirements with those of the meetings in the American Middle West, was naturally inclined to take the same view.

* Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and Ohio did not adopt the Declaration, but for widely different reasons. In the resolution passed by Canada Yearly Meeting, in 1888, it was stated that the adoption of the Declaration was "not as a Creed, binding men's consciences, but as an Exposition of the Truth in Christ Jesus."—*Minutes of Canada Yearly Meeting, 1888*, p. 9.

The most significant fact which emerged was that, despite the wide variations of both practice and profession revealed by the Richmond Conference, there was as a result no loss of fellowship or of spiritual unity. This was in itself more important than the somewhat inadequate Declaration which the Conference had produced. Indeed the development within the Society since 1887 seems to indicate that while the Richmond Conference may be said to mark the culmination of Gurneyism, the 1887 Conference may also be said to mark the end of an era of separations within the Society of Friends. Since that time American Quakerism has been distinguished by a broader, more inclusive spirit than was evident in the earlier period under review, and there is a growing appreciation of the fact that uniformity of opinion and of type is not essential to real spiritual unity, and that from this very diversity may emerge something spiritually richer than the contribution of any single member of the group. This more tolerant and sympathetic point of view has in turn reacted on the attitude of the Orthodox group towards the other branches of the Society, and there has been in recent years a very marked drawing together in bonds of common interest and sympathy of all who bear the name of Friend.

The movement towards closer union and more co-ordinated effort, which had been inaugurated by the Richmond Conference of 1887, was carried out further in a suggestion made at this time that similar conferences of the Orthodox Yearly Meetings should be held every five years. This resulted in holding three Quinquennial Conferences in which most of the American Yearly Meetings participated, but without any representatives from England, Ireland, or Canada. At the third of these Conferences, in 1897, it was recommended that a central executive body should be created from among the co-operating Yearly Meetings, and that a Uniform Discipline should be adopted under which the co-operating Yearly Meetings would carry on their various religious activities. This was the beginning of the Five Years' Meeting of Friends

in America, which eventually embraced thirteen Yearly Meetings on the American Continent. Committees were organized to direct and co-ordinate the activities of the participating Yearly Meetings with respect to Evangelistic and Church Extension, Education, Legislation and Welfare of the Negroes, Foreign Missions, Peace, etc. From this time on the Yearly Meetings associated with the Five Years' Meetings have gone steadily forward. *The American Friend*, published weekly in Richmond, Indiana, is the official organ of this important group of meetings, representing the most populous, compact, and in many ways the most influential centre of Quakerism in America. It naturally represents a type of Quakerism different in many ways from that which exists in the British Isles; but, as previously pointed out, these differences are not so much doctrinal as they are the result of a different social and geographical environment. It might also be pointed out that many of the innovations introduced by Western Friends have been more or less experimental in character; while there is a marked tendency, especially among the rising generation of young American Friends, to return to a more conservative type of Quakerism.

By reason of its past history, geographical position, and similarity of social background, Canadian Quakerism has naturally tended to approximate more nearly to the Western American type than to the more conservative British type of Quakerism. This fact has sometimes been an unpleasant surprise to English visitors, many of whom have more or less unconsciously assumed that Canadian Quakerism, like the Canadian constitution, should be based wholly on British practice, without understanding that fundamentally different conditions have produced a type which, while not absolutely distinctive, is nevertheless peculiar to Canada, and understandable only in the light of its past history.

In 1901 Canada Yearly Meeting formally adopted the Uniform Discipline of the Five Years' Meeting, only to rescind its action in the following year. This action did not indicate on the part of Canadian Friends any lack of sympathy with the main objects of the Five Years' Meeting, but

it was because they felt that the Uniform Discipline was not suited in every particular to their needs, while the fewness of their numbers and their special obligations prevented them from a full participation in all the activities of the Five Years' Meeting. The officers of the Five Years' Meeting, who were thoroughly sympathetic with the position of Canadian Friends, finally extended an invitation to join the Five Years' Meeting and at the same time to retain the existing Discipline and organization of Canada Yearly Meeting. These liberal conditions were accepted by Canadian Friends in 1907, with the result that, while participating in most of the Central Boards of the Five Years' Meeting, Canada has continued to support and to carry on independently its own foreign missionary work in Japan, upon which it had entered years before. This fraternal association with the Five Years' Meeting has been a source of inspiration to Canadian Friends, and has tended to widen greatly the horizon of their interests and vision.

Another important factor in the development of Quakerism in Canada during this later period under review has been the little paper published by the Society since 1904 at Newmarket, and called *The Canadian Friend*. The first editor of this paper was Frank Cornell, at that time Pastor of the Friends' Meeting at Newmarket, Ontario, later of Winchester, Indiana. This little paper has been an important link binding together the scattered membership of the Society, and keeping Canadian Friends not only in touch with each other, but with the wider movements of Quakerism throughout the world. A valuable feature of the paper for many years has been a monthly letter from Gurney and Elizabeth Binford, keeping Friends informed regarding the work in Japan.

In the past, as we have seen, one of the chief causes of loss to the membership of the Society had been due to the removal of members to new or remote districts. This continued to be one of the main sources of loss during this later period. And since practically all the meetings of the Society of Friends in Canada were situated in the oldest settled districts of rural Ontario, the movement of population from these

districts to the Canadian West during the last decade of the nineteenth century was a serious cause of leakage from the Society. This has been a problem with which the Society in Canada has never been able to cope adequately.

The presence of Friends in many parts of the Canadian West was first brought to the attention of the Yearly Meeting by Rufus Garratt in 1890, and this resulted in addressing a "general letter" of love and sympathy from the Yearly Meeting to all Friends scattered throughout the Province of Manitoba. In 1897, William I. Moore and Alma G. Dale visited many of these scattered Friends in the West; and as a result of their devoted labours, five new meetings were established in the West, principally in Manitoba. The meetings in Manitoba were eventually organized under Hartney Monthly Meeting, which was established in 1899 as a part of the far distant Quarterly Meeting of Yonge Street. Alma G. Dale was a granddaughter of Jonathan Gould, one of the first settlers in Uxbridge Township; and her work in the Canadian West was in the true succession of her pioneer Quaker ancestry. She possessed a striking personality, an unusual gift in the ministry, and she was a fearless horsewoman. The spirited pair of cream horses which took her across the prairies in all weather have become a part of the traditions of early Quakerism in Manitoba. In 1902 she visited scattered Friends in British Columbia, at Victoria and at New Westminster. In this same year William I. Moore started a Friends' Colony near Battleford, Saskatchewan, which was appropriately named "Swarthmore". The success of this undertaking lay very near to William I. Moore's heart, and to its fulfillment he gave the best years of his life, which came to an end all too soon, in 1912, when he was just in the prime of his usefulness. His premature death was an irretrievable loss, not only to the Society of Friends as a whole, but more especially to the success of the work in the West which he had been largely instrumental in founding.

Home mission work among Friends in Western Canada has been handicapped by lack of workers, of funds, and of

effective organization. Moreover, Friends have never benefitted as other religious denominations in Canada from the early missionary efforts of their respective Mother Churches. The Church of Scotland, for instance, was chiefly responsible for the prosecution of the first Presbyterian missions in British Columbia. Up to 1887 mission work was carried on by this church at some nine or ten different points both upon the Island and the Mainland; while the first Presbytery of British Columbia was one formed in connection with the Church of Scotland. In 1887 the Church of Scotland withdrew and handed over all its work to the Canadian Presbyterian Church.* Canadian Quakerism has received no such heritage. Its founders were also its pioneers, and where they sowed other denominations have largely reaped.

In 1912 British Columbia Quarterly Meeting was set up, being composed of Victoria, Vancouver, and Calgary Monthly Meetings. In this new Quarterly Meeting there were a considerable number of Friends from the Old Country, so that, on the whole, this Quarter represents a more conservative type of Quakerism than obtains in most of the meetings in Ontario. Friends have settled in many other parts of the West, but their isolated position, the vastness of the country, the lack of workers and of effective organization have allowed many of these isolated members to drift out of touch with the Society. Moreover, the migration of Friends from Great Britain to Canada has not greatly helped to build up the Society. In some instances English Friends, finding an unfamiliar type of Quakerism, have never cared to identify themselves with the Society in Canada at all, and consequently have either withdrawn from any connection with the existing organization or have joined other denominations. In this and in other ways there have been serious losses entailed which the Society can ill afford.

The close of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century have not witnessed any increase

* C. W. Gordon, *The Presbyterian Church and Its Missions, Canada and Its Provinces*, vol. ii, Part I, p. 284.

either in numbers or in apparent influence on the part of the Society of Friends in Canada. While this is a cause for serious self-examination, no attempt will be made here to analyze the complex factors that are involved. It can only be stated that since the first period of Quakerism the Society of Friends has never been a successful proselytizing body, but in the main has been content to rest its appeal on the spirituality and simplicity of its doctrines and the democratic character of its organization and worship. The fact remains, however, that its appeal is not, and probably never will be, to the many; since at its best, Quakerism calls for a combination of qualities of mind and spirit—at once mystical, adventurous, and independent—which, with all due modesty, may be called at least uncommon. On the other hand, it is apparent that in those meetings where the distinctive characteristics of Quaker worship and ministry have been pushed into the background by adopting the methods and organization of the aggressive evangelical churches, there have been comparatively few permanent additions to the numbers and strength of the Society. For example, in Canada Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends within a twenty year period, between 1880 and 1900, when Revivalism was at its height, there were approximately over 1,000 members added by request. Nevertheless, during the same period the membership of this branch of the Society declined from 1,655 to 1,030; while about one-sixth of these losses were from resignations alone, excluding, therefore, disownments, removals, deaths, or other causes. It might be pointed out that somewhat similar phenomena have been observed in several of the American Orthodox Yearly Meetings.* Past experience

* For example, in 1903 there were 2,611 new members received; but in the same year there were also 2,574 lost through disownment, resignation or discontinuance.—*Vide*, R. M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism*, vol. ii, p. 935.

In 1891 the Orthodox Yearly Meetings in America were reported as having 84,248 members; but in spite of the serious leakage in the membership as indicated above in some of the meetings, the Orthodox Yearly Meetings as a whole have steadily increased in numbers. In 1901 the membership was 92,898. In 1911, it was 96,907; while three new Yearly Meetings have been established since 1891.—*Ibid*, p. 936.

seems to show, therefore, that while Quakerism must move out beyond the old, traditional positions, there still must be retained certain fundamental truths which if lost entirely would mean loss not only of separate identity but of potential usefulness and service as well.

If in these days of Church Union the Society of Friends in Canada has any excuse for its separate existence, it is only because it is the part of a larger dynamic religious group which still has something distinctive to contribute to the religious experience and thought of the world. It is certain that a united Society of Friends in Canada would have a richer and more distinctive contribution to make to the life of the country.

In the apostolic age of Quakerism the discovery of a common personal experience and way of life fused members of almost two hundred different "sects and schisms" in England at that time into one compact, glowing, vital body, and sent its members forth with a message that shook the world. The rediscovery of this way might be the way of recovery and of service for the Society of Friends in the future.*

* See Author's Note, at conclusion of Chapter IX, page 156, which shows the growing unity within the Society.

CHAPTER XV

FRIENDS AND PHILANTHROPY

*Negro Slavery, The Indians, The Acadians, The Doukhobors,
Temperance, Woman Suffrage, Prison Reform,
and Capital Punishment*

WHILE the Quaker approach to religion was essentially mystical, it had a very practical side as well. The Quaker interpretation of Christianity as "a way of life" placed the emphasis on applied Christianity rather than on its speculative or doctrinal side, and this naturally turned members of the Society in the direction of moral and social reform. For this reason the Society of Friends has always exhibited a peculiar sensitiveness to existing moral and social standards; while from its ranks came many of the leaders of the great Philanthropic movements of the nineteenth century.

The connection of the Society of Friends both in England and America with the abolition of slavery has been told too many times to require retelling here. Our main purpose is to show the connection of Friends with the movement as it has touched the history of Canada. It might be recalled, however, that the Quakers were the earliest religious group to denounce slavery when the system had no other opponents. The first official protest of any religious body against slavery was made in 1688 by the Friends of Germantown (Pa.), when they publicly condemned "traffic in the bodies of men" and "treating men as cattle".* The first petition against the slave trade ever presented to the Parliament of Great Britain was drawn up by London Yearly Meeting of Friends in 1783;† while Wilberforce, Clarkson, and Buxton, three of the outstanding leaders of the anti-slavery cause in the British

* James Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America*, 2 vols. London, 1850-54, vol. ii, pp. 192-ff.

† R. M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, op. cit., vol. i, p. 321.

Parliament, though not members of the Society of Friends, were very closely connected with it.*

In America the influence of the Society of Friends on the abolition movement was no less significant. It was, for example, a Quaker, Benjamin Lundy, who, in 1828, meeting with William Lloyd Garrison in a Boston boarding house, first aroused him to the significance of the anti-slavery cause,† and thus secured his assistance in the editorial management of *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, founded by Lundy as probably the first anti-slavery paper in America. In 1836 Lundy, who had founded another anti-slavery periodical, *The National Enquirer*, secured to succeed him as editor, in 1838, the Quaker journalist and poet, John Greenleaf Whittier, whose impassioned verses will always be remembered in connection with the liberation of the slaves.

In Canada the Quakers were likewise pioneers in their stand against slavery, for their ill-fated colony established at Pennfield or Beaver Harbour, Nova Scotia, in 1783, was the first avowed anti-slavery settlement in British North America. At the head of the agreement to remove to Nova Scotia which had been drawn up and signed in New York, June, 1783, was the following prohibitory notice: "No slave master admitted"; while the fourth article of agreement stated: "That no slaves shall be either bought or sold, nor kept by any person belonging to the Society on any pretense whatsoever."‡

* The Quaker philanthropist and minister, William Forster, was a brother-in-law of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, and first inspired him with zeal for the cause of abolition. Buxton's mother was a Friend, and likewise his wife, Hannah Gurney, a sister of Elizabeth Gurney Fry and of Joseph John Gurney. William Wilberforce was a very intimate friend of the distinguished Gurney family. Thomas Clarkson, when a young student at Cambridge, owed his awakening to the cause of slavery to the writings of a noted Quaker of Huguenot descent, Anthony Benezet, whose book (*An Historical Account of Guinea, etc.*, pub. 1771) was, according to Clarkson, "instrumental beyond any book ever published in disseminating a proper knowledge of the slave trade."

† Earle, *Life, Travels and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy*, Phila., 1847, pp. 25-26.

‡ See, *Pennfield Records, 1783-1789*. vol. iv, Collections of New Brunswick Historical Society, *op. cit.* A brief account of this settlement is given in Chapter III.

Quite a number of Loyalists, however, who came to Canada at the close of the American Revolution, brought their slaves with them. A former Quaker, Captain Thomas Dorland, who had been disowned by the Society because of his active participation in the Revolution, is said to have brought as many as twenty slaves with him to Adolphustown. It is a family tradition that during the Revolution some of his slaves, though threatened with hanging, steadfastly refused to reveal the hiding-place of their master, and thus enabled him to escape to safety within the British lines. Some of these slaves are said to have remained with the family of Thomas Dorland as late as 1818.*

Though slaves were brought to Upper Canada from the United States, the general sentiment in Canada was against slavery. The first Parliament of Upper Canada enacted in 1793, during its second session, a law against the importation of any more slaves into the Province, and it was further enacted that children of slaves then held were to become free at the age of twenty-five years.† In 1800, as a result of the judicial decision in the Robin case, slavery practically ceased in Lower Canada;‡ though it was not till the Imperial Act of 1833, abolishing slavery throughout the colonies, that it legally ceased to exist in Canada. To this result, as already pointed out, the Society of Friends made a notable contribution.

But though the Quakers were the first religious group to recognize the evils of slavery and to clear themselves of any connection with it, they were by no means united as to the best method of ending the system in America. Both among the Orthodox and Hicksite branches there was a large majority who wished to avoid all appearance of political partisanship, and who disapproved of any action which seemed to imply that Friends were committed to the Abolitionist programme of freedom for the slave at any price. They were not willing,

* T. W. Casey, *Personal Notes on the People of Adolphustown*, Appendix to Report of Ontario Bureau of Industries, Toronto, 1899, pp. 55-69.

† 33 George III., Cap. 7 (U.C.)

‡ J. C. Hamilton, *Slavery in Canada*, Magazine of American History, vol. xxv, pp. 233-236.

therefore, to go beyond the methods of education and of constitutional agitation, and they shrank from the forcible resistance to the slave laws advocated by the Abolitionists as compromising the peace principles of the Society. On the other hand, there were a considerable number in the Society who strongly favoured the Abolitionist cause and who believed that the risk of compromising Friends' principles must be taken in view of the vast importance of the main issue—the freedom of the slaves. The result was that in 1842-43 about 2,000 Friends in Indiana Yearly Meeting seceded from the Orthodox body, and set up the "Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends", which was opened at Newport (Fountain City) in Second Month, 1843. This Anti-Slavery Yearly Meeting was maintained for a number of years until after the Civil War, when with the liberation of the slaves the issue ceased to exist; whereupon most of the anti-slavery Friends returned to the original society.* There were also several separations of a somewhat similar character among the Hicksite Friends in Western New York State, Ohio, and Michigan.

From a strictly Canadian point of view the most significant feature of the Anti-Slavery Movement was the escape of fugitive slaves to free British soil, and the growth of the famous Underground Railroad with its various termini situated at strategic points along the Canadian boundary, from the Atlantic Ocean on the east to the shores of Lake Huron on the west. In assisting the escape of fugitive slaves to free soil, the Society of Friends played a very important part.

One of the pioneers of what afterwards became the Underground Railroad in Pennsylvania and New York was a very interesting and original Quaker, Isaac T. Hopper, who as early as 1787, or six years before the first Fugitive Slave Act of 1793, was making systematic efforts to assist the escape of fugitive slaves from their masters.†

* Charles F. Coffin, *Anti-Slavery Friends*, Bulletin of Friends' Hist. Soc. Phila. vol. iv. No. 2, 1912, pp. 100-103.

See also: Levi Coffin, *Reminiscences*, Cincinnati, 1876, chap. vii, pp. 223-264. Levi Coffin was one of the leaders of the Anti-Slavery Movement.

† L. Maria Child, *A True Life of Isaac T. Hopper*, Boston, 1854, p. 35.

An interesting example of the operation of this law is given in the Diary of Timothy Rogers, dealing with his affairs in 1797 prior to his removal to Upper Canada. Apparently two fugitive slaves had been sent on to Timothy Rogers by another Friend, Isaac Leggatt, of New York. But by means of advertisement the two fugitives were traced to Timothy Rogers' farm at Ferrisburg, Vt., by their former masters, though the fugitives managed to escape into the bush just in time to avoid capture. Their enraged masters thereupon threatened to sue Timothy Rogers for one thousand dollars (\$500 each) for harbouring fugitive slaves, which was the penalty prescribed by the Fugitive Law (1795). But Timothy Rogers, rather than betray the two fugitives whom he had befriended, and concluding, as he put it, "not to value interest against freedom, I bought them both for \$700, that pinched me very much, and gave them their freedom." This incident illustrates the depth of conviction entertained by many Friends with regard to slavery; and it also shows at what an early date assistance to fugitive slaves was being carried on by members of the Society.

The organized system of rendering aid to slaves, which afterwards was known as the Underground Railroad, is said to have originated about 1804 at Columbia, Pennsylvania, when some cases of kidnapping and shooting of fugitive slaves who had attempted to escape capture by their masters so aroused the Friends of this place that they began to organize systematic assistance for all who were attempting to escape from slavery.* The number of routes in south-eastern Pennsylvania connected with this organized system, and the stream of fugitive emigration flowing through New Jersey and New York, are to be attributed largely to the untiring activity of members of the Society of Friends. In the Southern States, a Quaker, Vestal Coffin, organized in 1819 the first branch of the Underground Railroad near the present Quaker College

* W. H. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad, from Slavery to Freedom*, N.Y., 1898, p. 120.

of Guilford, N.C.;* while a cousin, Levi Coffin, who because of slavery moved from North Carolina to New Garden, Indiana, in 1826, was one of the pioneers of the Underground Railroad in the West. In fact for nearly thirty years Levi Coffin was known as the "President of the Underground Railroad". This title Levi Coffin once explained "was given to me by slave hunters who could not find their fugitive slaves after they got into my hands". He adds with dry humour, "I accepted the office thus conferred upon me and . . . endeavoured to perform my duty faithfully."† Levi Coffin and his wife were intimate friends of Harriet Beecher Stowe, and they not only assisted her in her epoch-making story, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, but they have been immortalized in its pages as Simeon and Rachel Halliday.

By 1828 the escape of fugitive slaves from the United States to Canada had become a matter of diplomatic negotiation. Mr. Clay, the then Secretary of State, declared that the escape of fugitive slaves to British territory was "a growing evil . . . well calculated to disturb the peaceful relations existing between the United States and the adjacent British Provinces". The fugitives who escaped to Canada evidently believed that their own freedom depended on the independence and security of their adopted country, for during the "Patriot War" of 1838 several companies of runaway slaves were organized, which assisted in operations designed to prevent possible American incursions across the frontier.‡ When Joseph John Gurney visited Upper Canada during this period of disturbance (1839) he was informed that about 100 slaves a month were making their escape across the frontiers to free soil. He also mentions the excellent work being carried on at this time for the relief and education of the negroes in Canada by Hiram Wilson, the agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Joseph John Gurney made a contribution

* *Ibid.*, p. 40.

† Levi Coffin, *Reminiscences*, *op. cit.*, p. 712.

‡ W. H. Siebert, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

to this work, to which, he notes, "the Friends of New York Yearly Meeting had already subscribed a considerable sum".* Hiram Wilson, though not a Friend, was for seven years director of the Manual Labour School at Dawn (near Lake St. Claire), which had been founded by the efforts of an English Friend, J. C. Fuller in 1842.†

Levi Coffin, whose connection with the Underground Railroad has already been mentioned, also had an important part in assisting the coloured refugees who settled in Canada. He made several interesting tours of Canada West, visiting the principal centers where fugitives had settled in Amherstburg (then Fort Malden), in the Wilberforce Colony,‡ and in Dawn. He makes the following comments on his visit to Canada West in 1844:

"I often met fugitives who had been at my house ten or fifteen years before, so long ago that I had forgotten them and could recall no recollection of them until they mentioned some circumstance that brought them to mind. Some of them were well situated, owned good farms and were perhaps worth more than their former masters. . . . We found many of the fugitives more comfortably situated than we expected, but there was much destitution and suffering among those who had recently come in. Some fugitives arrived weary and foot-sore, with their clothing in rags, having been torn by briars, and bitten by dogs on their way, and when the precious boon of freedom was obtained, they found themselves possessed of little else, in a country unknown to them, in a climate much colder than that to which they were accustomed. We noted the cases and localities of destitution, and after our return home took measures to collect and forward several large boxes of clothing and bedding to be distributed by agents to the most needy." §

Though by working principally through "reliable agents" the Society of Friends did much to relieve the destitution of

* Joseph John Gurney, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 179-180.

† W. H. Siebert, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

‡ The first negro settlers in the Wilberforce Colony "had secured their farms through the liberality of the Oberlin Society of Friends who had raised funds sufficient to purchase 800 acres". Fred Landon, *History of the Wilberforce Refugee Colony in Middlesex County*, Proceedings of London and Middlesex Historical Society, part ix, 1918, p. 35.

§ Levi Coffin, *Reminiscences*, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-253.

refugees in Canada, the most important contribution of the Society to the fugitive slaves was through the Underground Railroad, which conveyed thousands of negroes across the border to free Canadian soil. After the fugitives reached Canada the worst of their troubles were over, since they were sure of a favourable reception across the border, for which economic as well as idealistic reasons may be assigned. In a pioneer country like Canada there was always a premium on cheap labour to open up government lands and to assist the native farmer. Moreover, "farm hands were scarce and the fugitive slaves were penniless and eager to receive wages on their own account. In the vicinity of Colchester, Dresden, and Dawn, the number of labourers was not equal to the demand, so that negroes readily found employment."* Apparently the majority of fugitives in Canada did not require a great deal of assistance, and quickly became self-supporting. "As a class, the fugitives in the towns as in the country were accounted steady and industrious, and their dwellings were said to be generally superior to those of the Irish or other foreign emigrants of the labouring class, and far superior to the negro huts upon slave plantations which many of them formerly inhabited."† As a matter of fact, those who drifted into the towns, where the prospect of relief and employment was most immediate, comprised a much larger proportion of the refugee population of Upper Canada than that which was to be found in the regular refugee settlements. Nevertheless, the work of relief and education as carried on in these settlements by various Philanthropic Associations was of the greatest value in demonstrating to the negroes the way of self-improvement which they were evidently quick to follow.

The Society of Friends in Canada contributed to these worthy efforts on behalf of the negro principally through New York and Genesee Yearly Meetings, to which all the meetings in Canada at this time were subordinate. In the

* Benjamin Drew, *A Northside View of Slavery*, Boston, 1858, pp. 311-368.

† Samuel Howe, *The Refugees from Slavery in Canada West*, report to Freedman's Inquiry Committee, Boston, 1864, p. 64.

minutes of local meetings the question of helping the slaves appears many times. The first general appeal for assistance which has come to notice among the Canadian records appears on the minutes of West Lake Monthly Meeting in 1830, when a request was made "for subscriptions to remove the people of colour from North Carolina to free governments". This appeal was doubtlessly for the support of the work of manumission actively carried on by Friends in North Carolina in close co-operation with the American Colonization Society. The years between 1825 and 1830 were those of greatest activity on the part of this North Carolina group of Friends. There was also an organization of a more local character called the "North Carolina Manumission Society", which probably owed its beginning to the founder of *The Philanthropist*, Charles Osborne, a distinguished Quaker minister, and one of the leading pioneers of the anti-slavery movement in America.*

Not only were the temporal needs of the negro refugees in Canada cared for, but their spiritual needs were also remembered. In 1854 Jane Young, a woman minister of West Lake Monthly Meeting, laid before the meeting her concern "to attend in the love of the gospel, meetings belonging to Young (*sic*) Street Quarter, and to visit the people of colour in Canada West, as best Wisdom may direct." But though individuals might feel a special concern to perform service of this kind, the Society of Friends attempted no organized religious work among the negro refugees in Canada. This work was already largely taken care of by the American Missionary Association, whose agents and organization Friends had always been willing to employ. As a matter of fact, down to 1864, the American Missionary Association carried the burden of the work in Canada on behalf of the negroes, and it may be justly said to have "laid the foundations upon which the present church life of the Canadian negro is largely built".†

* P. M. Sherrill, *The Quakers and the North Carolina Manumission Society*, pub. by Trinity College Hist. Soc., N.C., 1914, series x, pp. 32-51.

† Fred Landon, *The Work of the American Missionary Association Among the Negro Refugees in Canada West, 1848-1864*, Ontario Hist. Soc. Papers and Records, vol xxi.

As time went by, the emancipation of the negro, in which at first the Society of Friends had played a part far out of proportion to its numbers, became the common task of many other religious and philanthropic groups; while a body of public opinion against the institution of slavery was being formed which by 1865 was to prove irresistible. Though the issues between the North and the South in the Civil War went much deeper than the emancipation of the slaves, there was only one opinion that had much weight in Canada, and this was enthusiastically on the side of the North, and, as most Canadians believed, on the side of liberty. As the first organized anti-slavery group in Canada, as the consistent advocates of complete emancipation, and as the untiring promoters of the Underground Railroad to free British soil, the Society of Friends had been an important factor in influencing Canadian opinion on this great question.

The Indians

Though the work of Friends on behalf of the Indians forms a notable chapter in the history of Friends in America,* the part which relates to Canada alone can be briefly told.

Reference has already been made to the mission of a number of Philadelphia Friends who at the request of the North West Indians in 1793, journeyed to Niagara and thence to Detroit to assist in drawing up the proposed Treaty of Sandusky between the Indians and the government of the United States and of Great Britain.† While nothing of a permanent nature came from these negotiations, the presence of Friends helped to win the confidence of the Indians at a critical time and to avert a possible Indian War which would have seriously involved the United States and Great Britain. More especially, however, this mission was the beginning of a deep concern among Philadelphia Friends, resulting in the

* R. W. Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians*, Phila., 1917. The whole history of the important work of Friends on behalf of the Indians has been admirably told in this volume.

† See Chapter IV p. 63.

appointment in 1795 of a standing Committee on Indian Affairs which inaugurated a work on behalf of the Indians of the greatest importance.

The long continued success of the Society in dealing with the Indians received public recognition, when in 1869 President Grant decided to put the administration of Indian affairs virtually into the hands of Friends, thereby turning over some fourteen different Indian tribes to the care of the Society. This important step was largely due to President Grant's growing conviction that the military policy of force had failed with the Indians, that land greed had subjected them to great injustice, and that the only solution was to put their case in the hands of the Society of Friends, which since the days of William Penn had been the tried and true friend of the Indian. This important work was carried on by both the Orthodox and Hicksite branches of the Society in America, who divided between them this great field of philanthropic work. For many years Canadian Friends, as constituent parts of New York and Genesee Yearly Meetings, contributed to this work, and its needs were kept constantly before them.

Work on behalf of the Indians in Canada did not engage to any extent the attention of the Society. The Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches were the first in this field, and they have ever since made the Indians of Canada their special concern. Many Friends' ministers at different times visited the Indians in various parts of Upper and Lower Canada. But these visits were never followed up by any organized work. In several instances visiting Friends were not welcomed on the Indian reservation by the Roman Catholic or Anglican missionary in charge, but were treated with great coolness as intruders, though from the Indians themselves they always received a welcome.

In 1869 Canada Yearly Meeting, no doubt influenced by the importance of the work undertaken by American Friends at the instance of President Grant, appointed a committee to investigate the condition of the Indians of Canada to see whether there was any need for Canadian

Friends to enter this field. The report of their Committee, which was never printed but is contained in the manuscript minutes of the Representative Meeting, is an interesting commentary on the conduct of Indian affairs in British North America. The members of the Committee were apparently satisfied that the Indians as wards of the Government were treated with full justice, that some progress was being made in teaching the Indians the arts of peace, and that their religious needs were being cared for by the different religious bodies interested in their welfare, among which "the Episcopalians and Methodists" are most prominently mentioned. "A portion of the Iroquois", the report states, "still reject Christianity, but their moral character compares favourably with those who make a profession of religion." The Report particularly commends the efforts of the Wesleyan Methodists' Institute at Muncey, and the excellent results being accomplished among the Indians on this reserve. Friends apparently felt that there was no special call for them to enter this field of work. The Report states "that there appeared to be an openness with the Indians to receive the visits of Friends"; but beyond a general recommendation for individual faithfulness not to neglect these openings for possible service, no organized effort was ever attempted.

The championship of the unfortunate or oppressed by the Society has touched the history of Canada at two other rather remote points which may at least be mentioned in passing: the first being the case of the Acadians, and the second of the Doukhobors.

The Acadians

Longfellow's "Evangeline" has made every one familiar with the sad fate of the Acadians who, in 1755, during the struggle for New France, were expelled from their homes by the British Government and transported to the American Colonies. A large group of these refugees were landed in Philadelphia, where, strangers in a strange land and almost

destitute, their plight was indeed pitiable. Touched by the situation of these unfortunate victims of "military necessity", a Quaker schoolmaster of Philadelphia, Anthony Benezet, undertook the relief of about five hundred of their number. Through his untiring efforts houses were built for them, clothing and money were collected, and employment was procured. Some of the Acadians, however, under the impression that such disinterestedness could not possibly be genuine, feared that their benefactor's real intention was to get them in his power and eventually to sell them into slavery. It was, however, a genuine labour of love, and had no other motive than a desire to relieve their unfortunate position. This was altogether an extraordinary piece of philanthropic work to have been initiated and largely executed by a single individual. Anthony Benezet was born of Huguenot parents at St. Quentin in 1713, which may partly account for his ready sympathy for the Acadians. He was an intimate friend of John Woolman, and later with him he became one of the principal leaders of the anti-slavery movement.*

The Doukhobors

Another unique philanthropic venture of the Society of Friends was in 1899, when it assisted in establishing the Doukhobors in the Canadian West. Accounts of the persecution suffered by the Doukhobors in Russia because of their refusal to perform military service was the beginning of Friends' interest in this people who in their pacifist views, if in nothing else, resembled in some ways the Society of Friends. This important distinction should, however, be made: that while the majority of the Doukhobors believe in what is in essence "Tolstoyism", the corporate good sense of the Society of Friends has never committed it to such extreme views which, when carried to their logical conclusion, result in a kind of philosophic anarchism.

* Robert Vaux, *Anthony Benezet, 1713-1748*.

M. E. Hirst, *The Quakers in Peace and War*, op. cit., p. 401.

The desire of the Canadian Government at this time to secure settlers for the vast uninhabited spaces of the West, and the concern of the Society of Friends to aid an unfortunate people who had suffered much for conscience' sake, made possible in 1899 the transportation of about 7,000 Doukhobors to Canada. Through the good offices of the Honourable Clifford Sifton and of Professor James Mavor of the University of Toronto, whose knowledge of Russia was usefully employed many times, a special Order-in-Council was passed, granting the Doukhobors recognition of their conscientious scruples regarding military service, similar to that granted to Quakers and Mennonites in Canada. They were also granted the special privilege of settling in their natural communistic groups, on lands from which—it was originally intended—other settlers should be excluded.* Valuable assistance was given by the Society of Friends in helping the Doukhobors to get a start in their new homes near the eastern boundary of Saskatchewan. During their first winter in Canada many of them would certainly have starved but for the timely assistance of Philadelphia Friends, who raised \$30,000 in a few weeks for their assistance. The first to carry on educational work among the Doukhobors was Miss Nellie Baker, of Kingston, Ontario; while her cousin, Eliza H. Varney, of Bloomfield, Ontario, a prominent minister in the Society of Friends, also did valuable work through a dispensary which she conducted.†

The emigration of the Doukhobors to Canada has raised many difficult questions which it would be impossible to discuss here. The Canadian Government has not fulfilled its original undertaking with the Doukhobors (regarding the absolute control of their lands); while the Doukhobors themselves have made many mistakes. They owe much, however, to the good sense and organizing genius of their leader, Peter Veregin, whose sudden death in October, 1924, was a serious

* James Mavor, *My Windows on the Streets of the World*, Toronto, 1923, vol. ii, chap. ii.

Elina Thorsteinson, *The Doukhobors in Canada*, The Miss. Valley Hist. Review, vol iv, No. 1, June, 1917.

† Joseph Elkington, *The Doukhobors*, Phila., 1903, pp. 82-85, 219-224.

loss. The Doukhobors have retained grateful memories of the assistance given them by the Society of Friends; and on different occasions they have looked to the Society for advice. In 1924-25 the American Friends' Service Committee, at the request of a group of liberal Doukhobors, sent representatives to a Doukhobor conference in Saskatchewan, where they had an opportunity of meeting the people and getting acquainted with their problems and point of view. Apparently an increasing number of the younger generation of Doukhobors see the necessity of modifying their old communal customs and their invincible hostility to all government regulations, and are willing to identify themselves more closely with the life of the Canadian people among whom their lot has been cast.

Temperance

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century the moral and social implications of the manufacture and use of intoxicating liquor has been a matter of genuine concern to the Society of Friends. This concern has not, however, always been felt with the same degree of keenness within the Society, for, as in the case of other religious denominations, the advance of temperance sentiment has been a matter of slow growth within its membership. Two hundred years ago the Society of Friends had no distinct testimony against the use of intoxicating liquor beyond the general caution that their members should observe due moderation in its use, and that they should avoid taverns and lewd company. Total abstinence from the manufacture, sale or use of intoxicating liquor was, therefore, an idea of later growth which only came after years of education.*

During the early years of the nineteenth century drinking had a distinct place in the social life of the Society of Friends. Many of its members, for example, fell in with the prevailing custom of serving wine and liquor on formal occasions, such as at dinners, weddings, and even at funerals.

* Joshua L. Bailey, *The Progress of the Temperance Cause among Friends*, Bulletin of Friends' Hist. Soc. Phila., vol. i, No. 1, Oct., 1906.

The growth of temperance sentiment eventually caused Friends to discourage these practices, and they were finally stopped. Benjamin Lundy, whose pioneer work for the anti-slavery cause has already been mentioned, was also one of the earliest promoters of the temperance cause in America. His paper, *The National Philanthropist*, published in Boston in 1828, was the first paper to support the idea of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks;* but, as in the case of his anti-slavery views, he was far in advance of his time and even of the majority of his own religious society. It was a long time before the idea of total abstinence gained general support in the Society. In 1845, when a proposal was made that Philadelphia Yearly Meeting should require total abstinence of all its members, the Clerk of the meeting was particularly outspoken in saying that he "did not believe in making rules of discipline prescribing what Friends should eat and drink". About this same time in Philadelphia, when the use of the Meeting House was asked for a temperance gathering, the request was promptly refused.†

Generally speaking, the pioneer Yearly Meetings in Western America were inclined to be more radical on the temperance question than the older Yearly Meetings in the East. In the older communities the practice of drinking was a deeply ingrained social habit. But out on the frontiers, where social amenities were largely lacking, and where indulgence in drink usually meant in whisky of extraordinary potency, the evils of the drink habit were more evident than in the older districts. As early as 1810, for instance, Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, situated at this time on the frontiers of Canada, experienced "a living concern" that their "present discipline be reconsidered and revised so far as it relates to spirituous liquors".‡ In the following year another frontier meeting, that of White Water, Indiana, drew up a very similar minute, only these Friends wished to go further and

* R. M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism*, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 564.

† Joshua L. Bailey, *The Progress of the Temperance Cause*, etc., op. cit.

‡ *Records of Yonge Street Monthly Meeting*, 1810.

prohibit not only selling grain for distillation of liquor, but "the distillation of fruit and every other product distilled for beverage purposes".* The recommendation of Yonge Street Meeting was sent up to Canada Half Year's Meeting, which in turn forwarded it to the superior Meeting at New York.

This expression of opinion evidently represented a pretty general feeling on the question and was to some purpose, for the revised New York Discipline of 1810 contained a very pointed paragraph against "the importing, distilling or vending of ardent spirits or selling grain or produce for the purpose of distillation." The Fourth Query in the revised New York Discipline of 1810 also asked: "Do Friends avoid the *unnecessary* use of spirituous liquors?" The further growth of temperance sentiment within the Yearly Meeting is evidenced by 1832, when the word "unnecessary" was dropped from the Fourth Query. By this time, therefore, the use of spirituous liquors "for other than medicinal uses" was forbidden by the Friends in Canada, and, of course, in New York Yearly Meeting as well. The use of wines was still allowed, though this too became of doubtful propriety; for, while wines were not expressly forbidden, the New York Discipline of 1859 asked Friends "to consider carefully whether in partaking of or in manufacturing them, they are in all respects clear of promoting the evils of intemperance". By 1877 New York Yearly Meeting had at last adopted the position of total prohibition. For in the revised Discipline of this year Friends were advised "to avoid and discourage the use, manufacture, or sale of wine, cider, and other fermented liquors", as well as of distilled liquor or ardent spirits which had been totally prohibited since 1832.

The records of the different meetings in Canada show that these "Advices" contained in the Discipline were by no means dead letters. Any Friend who used liquor to excess, or who was in any way connected with its manufacture or sale, was dealt with by their Monthly Meetings; and if after "proper

* *Minute of White Water Monthly Meeting, 1811*, quoted in R. M. Jones, *Later Periods*, etc., vol. i, p. 374.

labour had been bestowed", the offending person was still incorrigible, disownment was certain. Cases of disownment because of intemperance are much more frequent before about 1850 than after. In fact, by the latter part of the century Friends had practically cleared themselves of any connection with the use, manufacture, or sale of wines or liquors. This applies generally to both branches of Friends, "Hicksite" and "Orthodox", as well as to practically all the American Yearly Meetings.

In the frontier settlements of Upper Canada logging-bees, barn raisings, weddings, funerals, and public sales were often occasions for hard drinking; and since whiskey sold in many places for twenty or twenty-five cents a gallon, the facilities for drunkenness were very plentiful.* Friends were among the first to set their faces against this custom. In the Yarmouth district a Quaker, Abner Chase, is said to have set a unique precedent by refusing to have whiskey at his barn raising. Benjamin Cutler, when raising the frame of his mill, is said to have been the first to take a similar stand in Lobo Township. When he was told that no one would come unless liquor was supplied, he answered that the timbers could lie where they were until they rotted before he would provide liquor for his help. The majority evidently decided that a mill would be more useful to the community than a drinking bout, and it is said that the frame was raised in record time. The first temperance lecture in the Yarmouth district is said to have been given in the home of Elias Moore, a prominent member of the local meeting, by David Burgess, who was probably an itinerant Methodist preacher. In fact so pronounced were the temperance views of many in Yarmouth and in some of the back townships, that Colonel Talbot professed to believe that "these damned cold water drinking societies" were among the fomenters of unrest and disloyalty in the Province. There was, however, no necessary connection between non-drinking and disloyalty! In Adolphustown, which was eminently a Loyalist settlement, and where Friends

* W. H. Higgins, *Life and Times of Joseph Gould*, op. cit., p. 129.

were strong for many years, there was formed in January, 1830, one of the earliest Temperance Societies in Canada. At the first meeting of this society a resolution was passed condemning the use of ardent spirits and the practice of furnishing liquor at barn raisings, bees, and harvesting.* East Farnham, in Lower Canada, which had been first settled by Friends in the early years of the nineteenth century, has always been a temperance town, and down to 1908 "never had a licensed saloon for the sale of intoxicating liquors within its borders."†

Scattered throughout the records of both branches of Friends in Canada are many references to Temperance, and after about 1880 Friends appear to have followed with close interest the advance of temperance legislation in Canada. They were in favour of the Scott Act (1878) and the principle of prohibition; while in 1887 the Hicksite Friends memorialized the Hon. G. W. Ross, the then Minister of Education, commending him on the introduction of text books giving specific instruction along temperance lines.

Though Friends were evidently following the question with interest, it is very difficult to say to what extent they influenced the Temperance cause in Canada. For many years they shrank from any kind of organized work, lest it should run counter to the free leadings of the Spirit. They were never keen propagandists, and legal coercion of any kind was always distasteful to them. In any case they were more concerned that their own members should set a good example of temperate living, than that the whole community should be brought by restrictive legislation into line with their own peculiar ideas. Friends undoubtedly advanced the temperance cause in the communities in which they lived, but it was chiefly by moral suasion, by force of precept and example, rather than by aggressive organization.

* W. Canniff, *History of the Province of Ontario*, op. cit., p. 311.

† Joshua Bull, *Farnham Monthly Meeting of Friends*, op. cit.

Woman Suffrage

Another interesting field of social reform in which Friends have been leaders, was that of Woman Suffrage and equal rights. From the beginning of the Society of Friends men and women were recognized as having equal rights in the exercise of public ministry, though in the conduct of the business of the Society they did not at first enjoy quite the same equality. Even at this time, however, women enjoyed an equality with men in church organization far in advance of what is permitted at the present day in most churches. In fact, the work in the public ministry of women such as Sarah Haight, Serena Minard, Eliza Brewer, and Eliza Varney, to whom reference has been made elsewhere, was quite unique in the annals of Canadian womanhood. It is interesting to note that the American Yearly Meetings between the years 1875-1885 were the first to grant women absolute equality with men; and that London Yearly Meeting did not take this step till 1896.* After this date, however, throughout the Society of Friends, women were recognized as a constituent part of all meetings for church affairs, and have enjoyed since this time an absolute equality with men both in the public ministry and in church government.

Largely due to the place which women have had in the Society for many years, Friends have been, more or less unconsciously perhaps, exponents of equal rights for both sexes. One of the ablest advocates of Women's Rights in America was a woman Friend, Lucretia Mott.† Space does not permit any extended reference to her work. She was a woman of remarkable intellectual powers and personal gifts, and she left her mark upon her day and generation. She was also one of the most fearless and influential leaders of the Anti-Slavery Cause in America.

The Hicksite branch of Friends, to which Lucretia Mott belonged, has been the most active in promoting the question

* R. M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism*, op. cit., pp. 117-118.

† Anna D. Hallowell, *James and Lucretia Mott*, Boston, 1884.

of equal rights for women. In 1887 Canada Half Yearly Meeting, held at Bloomfield, drew up what was probably the first petition ever presented the Canadian Government asking for an extension of franchise rights to the women of Canada, enabling them to vote in Federal elections.* The present position of women in Canada in both church and state probably owes something to the view so long maintained by Friends as to the equal rights of the sexes. The recent action of the United Church of Canada in extending ordination to women is an interesting step in a direction long made familiar through the usage of Friends.

Prison Reform and Capital Punishment

Friends have been consistent advocates of Prison Reform and the abolition of Capital Punishment. At various times deputations of Friends have been sent to interview members of the Canadian Government and to present the Quaker view. The question of overcrowding in prisons, and a desire to effect a reformation of the less hardened cases was for many years a matter of concern to the Hicksite Friends in Canada. Partly as a result of their representations to the Provincial Government of Ontario, the Hon. Mr. Hanna, working in conjunction with one of their Friends, selected a site of 800 acres near Guelph upon which a new Prison Farm was begun in 1910.† This was an important experiment in the direction of Prison Reform which has, on the whole, justified itself.

Situated almost entirely in rather isolated rural districts away from the larger centers of population, Canadian Friends would not be expected to have a large place in social and moral reforms. They have at least been true to the philanthropic ideals of the larger Quaker group, and they have not only helped to keep sweet and wholesome the life of their immediate communities, but occasionally they have reached out into a wider sphere of influence.

* *Minutes of Genesee Yearly Meeting, 1887.*

† *Minutes of Genesee Yearly Meeting, 1910.*

CHAPTER XVI

FRIENDS AND EDUCATION

FROM the beginning the leaders of Quakerism realized that if they were to succeed in their great experiment of a lay religion without the services of a trained clergy they must educate the entire membership of the Society. The Society of Friends has, therefore, always been particularly solicitous of education. During the early years of the nineteenth century, however, when the influence of Quietism was still strong within the Society, there was manifest in many quarters a distrust of higher learning and of the fine arts, which narrowed considerably the field of Quaker education. Friends favoured at this time the idea of "a guarded education" which, while it gave their children the rudiments of sound learning, was along rather narrow lines and was especially lacking on the imaginative and cultural side. The Great Separation in America in 1827-28 clearly revealed the intellectual weakness of the Society and the need of developing a new type of leadership. The founding of Haverford College, near Philadelphia, in 1833, was a notable event in the educational history of Friends. For not only was this the first institution of higher learning of Friends in America, but it marked the beginning of a more liberal policy in education. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, nine Friends' colleges—all degree-granting institutions—have been established by the American Yearly Meetings; and as a result there has been brought to the Society, new life, a wider outlook, and greater possibilities of service.*

* *Guilford College*, N.C., opened as New Garden Boarding School, 1837, chartered as a college, 1888. *Earlham College*, Indiana, opened as "Friends' Boarding School," 1847, chartered as a college, 1859. *Swarthmore College*, established 1869. *Wilmington College*, Ohio, established 1871. *Penn College*, Iowa, established 1873. *Pacific College*, Oregon, opened as Academy, 1885, chartered as college, 1891. *Whittier College*, California, opened as academy, 1891, chartered as college, 1896. *Friends' University*, Kansas, established 1898. *Nebraska Central College*, Neb., established 1898.



West Lake
Boarding
School



Rockwood
Academy



Pickering College, Pickering

The immediate problem of Friends who first migrated to the American West and to Canada had little to do with the higher branches of learning. Their chief concern was to give their families living under pioneer conditions the rudiments of an education. It was, on the whole, true of Friends both in the United States and in Canada at this time that "they were able to keep the average educational standard of their members at a higher level than that of the community around them. This, with their strict moral discipline, made them generally persons of considerable influence in every neighbourhood where they were found."* The first Friends' schools in Upper Canada were directly under the supervision of the Monthly Meeting which was to all intents and purposes the School Board of the district. During the first decade or more of the nineteenth century the schools maintained by Friends were the only schools in a wide area; and while they were established and maintained primarily for the education of Friends' children, they were open to others as well. The pioneer school, like the mediæval university, had but little educational apparatus and frequently had no fixed abode, but was held wherever it suited the convenience of the teacher and the majority of his pupils. The school house was often in the meeting house yard, as offering a site already cleared and centrally situated. At Pelham and at Pickering the first meeting house was used for a school after the erection of a larger building for the purpose of public worship. The records show that Friends were maintaining schools at Yonge Street in 1809, at Pelham in 1811, and at West Lake in 1816. Joseph Gould says that the Quaker School on Yonge Street was the only school within twenty miles of his home in Uxbridge Township, which did not possess a single school till about 1817 or 1818. About this time "a log school house was built in the northwest corner of lot 31, in the sixth concession of Uxbridge", where "a little Irishman was employed to teach". "The teacher", Joseph Gould adds, "like the

* Allen C. Thomas, *A History of Friends in America*, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

house, was a very poor one.”* Though Joseph Gould attended this first school in Uxbridge, he had previously been taught to read and write by his Quaker mother, Rachel Lee Gould. But while his own educational opportunities were small, Joseph Gould appreciated the benefits of education; and later in life, when a successful business man, he erected at his own expense the first Grammar School in the township of Uxbridge.†

For Canadian Friends who desired something better than the local schools could provide, there was Nine Partners School in Dutchess County, New York. This school had been established by Friends in 1796 and was under the care of New York Yearly Meeting, of which the Canadian meetings were constituent parts at this time. In the case of Friends who were unable to bear all the expense of sending their children to this school, there was a special fund available to assist them. Another useful educational endowment was established in 1819 by the gift of a Philadelphia Friend, Chamless Wharton. The original bequest was the sum of one thousand dollars which “was to be applied for the use of the People called Quakers in Upper Canada”. This sum was divided among the four monthly meetings, of which the principal was to be “a permanent fund”, while “the interest was to be appropriated as each Monthly Meeting may judge proper”. It was recommended at this time, however, that “the meetings be encouraged to liberality in promoting subscriptions to aid the desired object of enlarging this fund for the guarded education of the rising generation”.‡ The income from this endowment was used by some of the meetings to buy educational books which were placed in a central depository for distribution to various schools as they might be required. Yonge Street Monthly Meeting further decided that “books might be loaned to remote families or parts of families not in reach of our schools”, and that “children not in membership with Friends who attend our schools are to be furnished with

* W. H. Higgins, *Life and Times of Joseph Gould*, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

† *Ibid.*, p. 256.

‡ *Yonge Street Monthly Meeting*, 18/2/1819.

such books as they stand in need of at a reasonable price". Joseph Pearson, of Yonge Street, was made the head of the committee in charge of this useful work; and their duties, as indicated in the above minute, show that Friends felt a responsibility for the educational welfare not only of their own children, but of the whole community as well. For quite a number of years the Friends of Yonge Street carried on this work of buying and lending books. In 1826 their committee reported that they had bought new books that year to the value of one hundred and twenty dollars, twelve and a half cents.

The Great Separation of 1827-28 had the effect of awakening Friends to the need of more educated leadership within the Society, but it also had the effect of dividing Friends at a time when united effort in the interest of education was particularly required. In fact this unfortunate circumstance was a continual handicap to educational efforts of both branches of Friends in Canada and seriously limited their opportunities for future usefulness. In the decade after 1828, however, many Friends were beginning to feel the lack of adequate educational and religious instruction within the Society. This feeling found expression in a minute passed by the Orthodox Friends in 1834, stating that "Friends had considered the propriety of establishing a school for instructing the youth in the Scriptures of Truth". Though the context of the minute is obscure, it probably referred to the possibility of establishing a Bible or First Day School within the Society rather than a separate denominational school. This concern undoubtedly arose as the result of the visit to Pelham Monthly Meeting of a gifted English minister, Hannah C. Backhouse, whose five years' mission to America was the beginning of the Bible School Movement among Friends. As a matter of fact, it was not till a good many years after 1834 that Bible Schools began to make much headway among Friends in Canada; but the consideration of this subject in 1834 must have certainly brought up the allied question of trained leadership within the Society. Moreover, this was the

great period of founding denominational schools and seminaries in Upper Canada. In 1836 the Methodists had established Upper Canada Academy at Cobourg, which by Royal Charter in 1841 became Victoria College. In this same year Queen's College at Kingston was established by the Presbyterians. In 1843 King's College—the beginning of the University of Toronto—was established as an Anglican College; while in the same year the Roman Catholic Church founded Regiopolis Seminary at Kingston. All these influences and tendencies were helping Friends in Canada to see the need of more adequate instruction for their young people who were to be the future leaders of the Society; and out of this need there finally came into existence the first Friends' Seminary in Canada, at West Lake, in 1841.

Joseph John Gurney's visit to Canada Half Year's Meeting of Orthodox Friends in 1838 was the real beginning of the West Lake Boarding School. This distinguished English minister had been trained at Oxford, and he possessed both culture and sound learning; while his use of the Scriptures was much more systematic and scholarly than was common among many Friends in America at this time. No one could speak with more authority concerning education, and his earnest counsel regarding the need of a school, backed by his generous contribution, first set the project in motion. New York Yearly Meeting approved of the plan and also gave some financial assistance. The site of the new school, which was visited by Joseph John Gurney and met with his approval, was on the old Danforth Road about a mile east of the village of Bloomfield and about four miles west of Picton, the county town of Prince Edward. The original property consisted of a farm of a hundred acres, on which was situated a commodious brick house that was fitted up for the girls, while another building for the boys and several out-buildings were newly constructed. In 1841 West Lake Boarding School was opened with Thomas Clarke, a local Friend, as its first Superintendent, assisted by his wife. At first there were only two full time teachers, both of whom were American Friends,

Mary V. Hoag, who was engaged for £50 per annum to take charge of "the female department"; while Joseph H. Haines was engaged for £100 to take charge of the "male department". The Committee of Management drew up, in 1841, for the guidance of the Superintendent, staff, and students, the following rules, which will give some insight regarding the general policy and management of a Quaker school in those early days:

"Teachers, male and female, will be required to perform the same description of duties as are done by teachers at Friends' school at Nine Partners, and the general management of the children, the hours of rising and retiring and attending school, practising the daily reading of the Scriptures, and conduct at meal-times to be under the same arrangements as practised at the aforesaid school, as near as possible.

"The price of board and tuition, including also pens, ink and paper, to be 12 pounds 10 shillings per annum. *

"That the branches at present to be taught be reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar and geography, and hereafter such others as the Committee may approve of as way opens. †

"That male pupils be permitted to labour two hours each day if of age to do so, and the full value of their labour (the Superintendent and the Visiting Committee fixing the price) is to be allowed them.

"That children whose parents can conveniently spare them feather beds, are requested to bring the same for their use while at the school.

"Pupils are required to observe plainness of dress and propriety of language.

"Boys are required to wear single breasted coats and vests of plain colours. Girls are directed to wear plain silk or straw bonnets, and plain coloured dresses without trimming. If straw bonnets are worn they must have no trimming except cape and strings which must be brown, drab or white, and the lining must correspond in colour."

A later revision of this rule stated :

"No pupil is allowed to smoke tobacco on the premises, and the Committee would strongly recommend those who are in the habit of chewing tobacco, wholly to abstain from

* This was later increased to 65 pounds for boys and 55 pounds for girls.

† Classics and modern languages were later added.

a practice so unbecoming to youth. All are required to adhere to plainness in language and dress, the boys to have single breasted coats and vests and straight collars, and to have the hair of becoming length, the girls to bring plain bonnets and not to wear edging or ruffles on the collars and capes.

"All scholars are expected to attend Friends' Meeting, to walk in regular order when going and returning, and while there to sit quietly and to behave with propriety.

"In the case of boys at the school visiting their relatives in the female department they should have the privilege of seeing them for a short time in the sitting room during the hours of school, by obtaining liberty from the Teachers or Superintendents ; and no conversation is to be allowed between the pupils of the schools under any other circumstances."*

By 1854 West Lake Boarding School was clear of all debt and had a total registration during the year of 110 pupils, of whom 47 were girls and 63 boys. This was the most successful year in its early history, but soon after difficulties appear to have arisen, and the attendance steadily declined. Several reasons may be assigned for this. In the first place, Friends in the western part of the Province did not give the school the support either in money or in pupils which the Board of Management desired. Though the founding of Rockwood Academy by William Wetherald in 1850 was a purely personal venture, it materially narrowed the field of Friendly support; while it was, of course, more conveniently situated for Friends in Canada West than the West Lake School. Another difficulty which faced all private or denominational schools at this time was the increasing competition of the public school system of Upper Canada, which was gradually extended and perfected under the energetic direction of Egerton Ryerson, Superintendent of Education. A change in the management of the Boarding School, in 1857, and an apparent tendency to narrow rather than to liberalize and extend the general scope of the school were also

* Anent this last regulation, it is said that some very *distant* relationships were discovered, but first of all by the scholars themselves ! These regulations and the business affairs of the school are contained in the manuscript *Minutes of the Committee of the Board of Management of the Friends' Boarding School at West Lake, 17/9/1841-22/9/1889.*

contributory causes of its decline. The School was finally closed in 1869 and the property sold. The building used for the girls' residence and main dining room is still standing in excellent preservation, and is in use as a private residence. The other buildings have disappeared.

The idea of a denominational Friends' School was again revived in 1870, three years after the founding of Canada Yearly Meeting of Friends. It was evidence of the forward look of Friends at this time and of their confidence in the future. A new site was eventually procured just across the road from the new Yearly Meeting House in the village of Pickering, on which it was proposed to erect a building costing \$30,000 to accommodate about one hundred pupils. Liberal assistance was obtained from the Friends of London and of Dublin Yearly Meetings. In September, 1878, the Friends' Seminary was reopened in the new building as Pickering College. Like the former school at West Lake, and in common with all Friends' boarding schools at this time, it was co-educational. The term "college" was, however, rather misleading because it was only a secondary school offering courses preparatory for college and for the Normal Schools of the Province. Instruction in commercial subjects was also given. The school was nicely under way, with every prospect of success, when the regrettable Separation of 1881 occurred, which crippled the work of Canada Yearly Meeting to such an extent that in 1885 it was decided to close the school temporarily. Largely through the vision and untiring efforts of Samuel Rogers, of Toronto, and John R. Harris, of Rockwood, combined with the generous contributions of Friends in England and Ireland, the school was re-opened in the autumn of 1892 with ninety-five pupils. From now on, for a period of fourteen years, under the able direction of William P. Firth and Ella Rogers Firth, as Principal and Lady Principal, Pickering College steadily advanced, and, in the words of a former Minister of Education, "it played a worthy part in educating men and women for the universities and learned professions, and for the wider activities of commerce, industry,

and the home".* It was also the intellectual and spiritual nursery of most of those who became leaders and workers within the Yearly Meeting.

Just as Pickering College was clear of debt, crowded to capacity, and accomplishing some of its best work, disaster came to the school. During the Christmas vacation of 1905-06 the main building was completely destroyed by fire. The brick gymnasium—the gift of Samuel Rogers, of Toronto, in 1898—and a few of the out-buildings were alone left unharmed. This was a staggering blow to the Yearly Meeting. But believing that the existence of the school was closely bound up with the life of Canada Yearly Meeting, Friends decided to rebuild the school, not at Pickering, however, but in the town of Newmarket, about thirty miles north of Toronto. The new location offered exceptional advantages. It was the centre of one of the largest Friends' communities in Ontario, and there were available electric light, water, and adequate fire protection on particularly advantageous terms; while the new site, overlooking the town of Newmarket, commanded a view of agricultural and sylvan beauty that was unsurpassed.

The sacrificial giving of many Canadian Friends would have availed little, if generous assistance had not again been forthcoming from England and Ireland to the extent of some \$20,000, as well as substantial subscriptions from Friends in the United States. The ready response from old pupils, many of whom were not members of Friends, was eloquent testimony to the warm affection they felt for the school and the value of its work. Joseph Allen Baker, M.P., of London, England, a former resident of Canada, gave invaluable help in arousing the interest of English Friends in this new effort. But without the undaunted faith and keen business ability of Albert S. Rogers, of Toronto, Chairman of the Finance Board of Canada Yearly Meeting, the project would scarcely have materialized at all. The new Pickering College at New-

* Statement *re* Pickering College by the Hon. G. W. Ross, former Minister of Education for Ontario, Jan. 25th, 1906.

market cost, with its furnishings, about \$90,000. Chief Justice Sir William Mulock, assisted by the Hon. Mr. Pyne, Minister of Education, Dean Pakenham, and others, officiated at the laying of the corner stone, October 1st, 1908. Soon after, the school was opened with Doctor William P. Firth and Ella Rogers Firth continuing as Principal and Lady Principal.

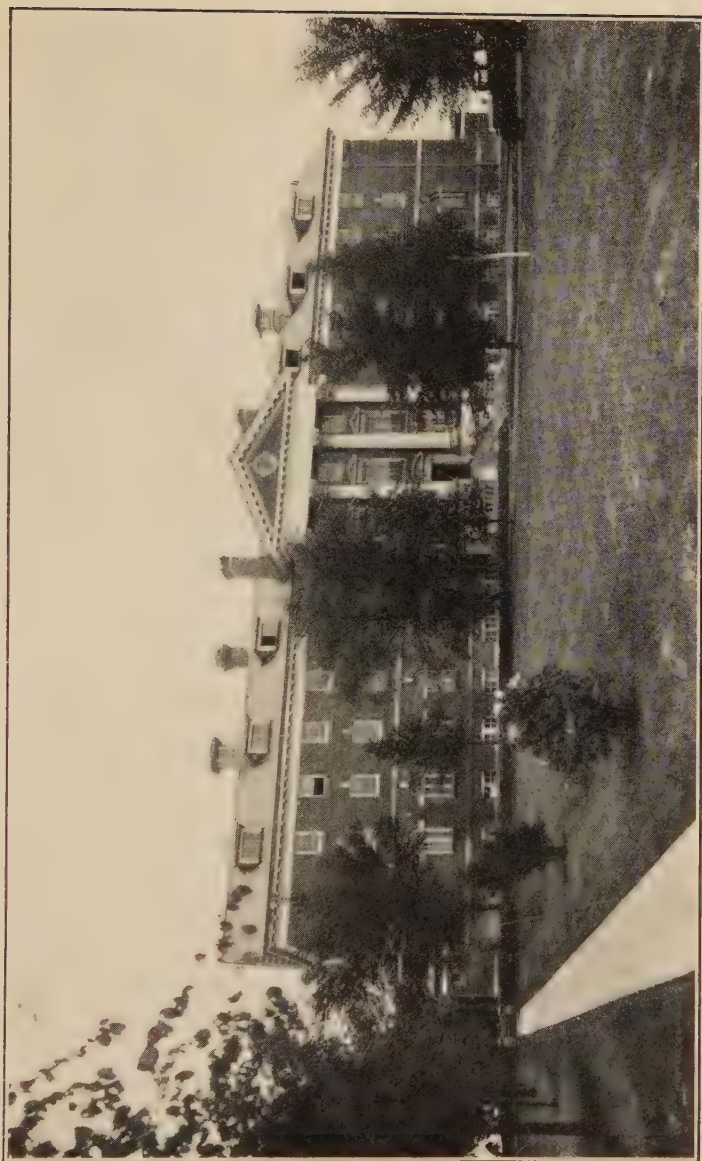
The new school was creeping up to its record of former achievement when the shadow of disaster again loomed on the horizon. But this time disaster was so general and so encompassing that none in Canada escaped its black pall. This was the shadow of the Great War. By 1916 the wreck and wastage of what had gone out as strong, self-possessed men and youths began to come back to Canada in steadily mounting numbers. But more terrible than the shattered bodies were the unbalanced minds where reason had been dethroned. The Military Hospital Commission was desperately in need of accommodation for disabled soldiers, but particularly for these difficult mental cases which required housing and care of a special kind not easily or quickly provided. Here was not only an urgent need, but an opportunity for a service in war time which the Society could perform. Canada Yearly Meeting accordingly offered Pickering College with its land and all its equipment to the Military Hospital Commission to be used by them free of rent until the end of the War, or until such time as permanent hospitals for the insane could be erected and equipped.

About two years after the conclusion of the War, Pickering College was handed back to the Trustees by the Canadian Government. It might be asserted, however, that if for any reason the history of the school had ended in 1916, its final use as an asylum for the wreckage of war would have been an end not unworthy of the tradition of sacrificial service which from the beginning had been associated with the school.

In 1927 the Trustees decided to reopen Pickering College as a residential school for boys only. The former co-educational features of the school were abandoned, partly due to

the excessive cost of conducting this type of school, and partly due to the lack of a sufficient number of Friends in Canada to warrant co-education—a plan not in general favour outside the denomination. On the other hand, an attempt simply to reproduce the generally accepted English Public School tradition was not regarded as sufficient justification for reopening Pickering College as a school for boys only. The Trustees believed, however, that in conjunction with the school farm of 250 acres, there was an opportunity of working out a somewhat distinctive type of education, based on the development of sound scholarship and a healthy physique in a Christian environment, but definitely adapted to the needs of a Canadian community whose background is predominantly agricultural and democratic. Apparently some such idea had been entertained by Joseph John Gurney at the inception of the school ; for when its establishment was first under discussion, he is said to have suggested that the school should aim to combine a sound cultural education with the practical activities suitable to a new country like Canada. This idea was incorporated in the first set of rules drawn up by the Committee of Management of West Lake Boarding School, in 1841, when it was decided “that male pupils be permitted to labour two hours each day, if of age to do so”.

On September 13th, 1927, the new Pickering College was reopened at Newmarket with Joseph McCulley, B.A., as Headmaster. While the standard matriculation curriculum forms the back-bone of the work offered at Pickering College, it aims so to correlate the work of the school with that of the farm and work-shops as to provide the practical background of Canadian life. The intention is not to make farmers or mechanics of all its pupils, but to impart a practical knowledge of the work of the average Canadian community, along with a sympathetic understanding of the tasks which labour is called upon to perform in it. By this combination of cultural and vocational education, the new Pickering College seeks to work out a scheme of education which is essentially democratic and practical in accordance with the genius of the Canadian



Pickering College, Newmarket

people, making for social unity and for the highest type of citizenship. While maintaining its old traditions, Pickering College is therefore committed to this new ideal, an interesting and, it is hoped, a valuable contribution to the educational development of Canada.

The Hicksite and Conservative branches of Friends have never entered the field of secondary education in Canada, but generally speaking have either sent their children to the local public schools or to schools in the United States under the care of their respective branches of the Society. This circumstance—one of the unfortunate results of separations—has materially narrowed the field of support for a successful Friends' school in Canada. For a number of years the Conservative Friends at Norwich conducted a school for their own little group; but generally speaking, they have either sent their children to the local schools or to the school at Barnesville, Ohio, which is maintained by the Wilburite branch of the Society. The Hicksite Friends in Canada have sent quite a number of their young people to George School, near Newtown, Pennsylvania. Many of the young people of both branches who have attended these schools have been among the active leaders in their respective groups, and are in themselves a demonstration of the value of this experience. Nevertheless, the comparatively few who are able to attend these denominational institutions in the United States, and the absence of a distinctively Quaker school supported by *all* Friends in Canada, has been and still is an undoubted drawback to Canadian Quakerism.

CHAPTER XVII

FRIENDS AND PEACE

JUST as in many districts Friends were the pioneers who blazed the trails that form the thoroughfares of to-day, so they and their descendants have helped to blaze the trails for many reforms in the moral and civil life of the nations. In their peace testimony Friends followed for many years a lonely path; but it has now become a well recognized road along which an increasing number of men and women are travelling to-day in their quest for a new world order. When there were no organized peace societies, and when the prayer: "Give Peace in our time, O Lord", was more a pious hope than a positive programme, the Society of Friends was more or less unique in actively seeking Peace and ensuing it.

In the introductory chapter I have already discussed the religious grounds for Friends' opposition to all war. My purpose here is briefly to relate a number of episodes in Canadian history in which Friends have endeavoured, not always with success but often with rare moral courage and in the face of much misunderstanding and difficulty, to "seek Peace and ensue it".

The attitude of the Society during the War of the American Revolution has been dealt with in an earlier chapter.* It has been shown that throughout the Revolution, the Society of Friends adopted, as far as possible, an attitude of strict neutrality; and that while many Friends who came to Canada during the first Loyalist migration were really Loyalists at heart, so far as they had any political leanings at all, they were never partisans, inasmuch as any member who became an active partisan in the struggle on either side was promptly disowned. The Quaker migration to Canada was not, therefore, a Loyalist movement, but it merged into a migration of

* See Chapter III., *The American Background of the Quaker Migration.*

Loyalist relatives, friends, and neighbours from the older American settlements to Upper Canada. Accordingly, while the names of many of the first little band of Friends who came to Upper Canada in 1784 are listed in the Crown Land Records as "United Empire Loyalists", in reality they were not "Loyalists" in the usually accepted sense of the word. For, though many suffered confiscation and loss of their property, it was because they refused to fight for the American cause and *not* because they fought for the British. Despite, therefore, what many Canadian Friends had suffered during the Revolution, they disclaimed the name of "Loyalist", because of its implication that they had been active combatants on the British side.

This interpretation was borne out by the action of the Society in refusing to allow its members to receive lands from the government on the ground that they were Loyalists, since these lands were supposed to be granted as a reward for military service during the late Rebellion, which no consistent Friend could perform. In Pelham, for example, the Overseers informed the Preparative Meeting "that Jeremiah Moore had accepted a tract of land under the name of U. E. Loyalist, which we believe to be inconsistent with our profession".* This same belief was expressed by Canada Half Year's Meeting, which sent a statement to its subordinate meetings to the effect "that no members of our religious Society can, consistent with our principles, receive or accept such lands or other awards whatever from the Government, as is given for actual service in war or for aiding or assisting therein."† This was in effect a self-denying ordinance which members of the Society voluntarily accepted rather than compromise their peace testimony.

The War of 1812 proved to be another testing time for the peace principles of the Society of Friends; but with the memories still fresh in their leaders' minds of the stand which they had taken during the trying time of the Revolution,

* *Pelham Preparative Meeting, 30/8/1809.*

† *Canada Half Year's Meeting, 29/8/1810.*

there was no question as to the attitude of the Society as a whole.

The quite unfounded suspicion of disloyalty entertained by many of the governing class concerning the Methodists in Canada, because of their affiliations with that religious denomination in the United States, was a very sore point with them; and the outbreak of the War in 1812 was undoubtedly one of the factors which hastened the creation of an independent Methodist Church in Canada.* The Quakers, however, because of their well-known peace principles, were not regarded as dangerous politically; while the harmonious relations between the Friends in Canada and in the United States were not disturbed as a result of the war. There was consequently no change during this period in the affectionate intercourse by official epistle and by private correspondence between the Quaker groups in the United States, in Canada, and in Great Britain. Though the representatives from Canada Half Year's Meeting were not able to attend the Yearly Meeting in New York in 1813 "on account", as they said, "of the difficulty of the times", there was so far as appears no similar difficulty either before or after, and the business of the Society was conducted as usual. In 1813, for example, New York Yearly Meeting, following the customary procedure in such matters, sent a request for Canada Half Year's Meeting to open a subscription to assist in raising the sum of \$400 for building a meeting house at Ransellerville, N.Y. Canada Half Year's Meeting, therefore, sent instructions to the various Monthly Meetings to raise their proportion of the quota, which was done accordingly.

But though Quakers in Canada during the War of 1812 opened subscriptions to build a meeting house in the land of their "enemies", and consistently refused to perform military service or to pay the fines imposed in lieu thereof, this was not because Quakers were disloyal to their country, nor because they wished to defy the authority of its laws. They did this

* See "Memorial for Independence," Aug. 25th, 1824, G. F. Playter, *Hist. of Methodism in Canada*, Tor. 1862, pp. 240-241.

because the authority of conscience and of a higher moral law claimed their first loyalty and obedience. The views of the Society were well known to the Government of Canada, and they had been set forth in the quaintly worded petition addressed to Governor Gore, from Yonge Street Monthly Meeting during its first session in 1806, in which Friends, while careful to assert their loyalty to the Government, made it clear that they could not "for conscience sake join with many of our fellow mortals in . . . taking up the sword to shed human blood".* This petition was given a very favourable reception by the Lieutenant-Governor.

Although some concessions were made by the Government of Canada to the conscientious views of Friends regarding war, they were not permitted, nor did they expect, to escape the disabilities which their position involved. According to the Militia Act of 1793,† passed during the second session of the first Parliament of Upper Canada, held at Niagara, Quakers, Menonists, and Tunkers were not required to perform military service in the militia in which were enrolled every male inhabitant from the age of sixteen to fifty. In order to be exempt from this service, however, Quakers were required to pay a fine of twenty shillings a year in time of peace, and in time of war five pounds sterling. If they refused to pay this fine in lieu of military service, a warrant might be issued by the Justice of the Peace to levy the tax "by distress and sale of the offender's goods and chattels". Another Militia Act of 1794‡ stated that, since in time of war there were to be no exemptions from military service in the militia up to the age of sixty, Quakers and others who were granted exemption from military service should be required to pay a yearly fine for their immunity up to that age. But since the exaction of these fines carried with it the implication that Friends should support the military establishment of the country, and since

* For the full text of this document, see Chapter VI, footnote, p. 94.

† 33 George III., cap. i.

‡ 33 George III., cap. vii.

the proceeds from these fines went directly to the support of the militia, Friends consistently refused to pay the fine. Anyone who paid this fine or who hired a substitute in the militia was disciplined and disowned, as well as anyone who actually joined the militia. To answer to one's name on the militia roll or to drill, even though no actual fighting was engaged in, was likewise forbidden.*

The Friends of Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, so far as the records show, suffered more for conscience' sake than any other group of Friends in Canada. This was probably due to the fact that they were nearer York (Toronto), the capital of Upper Canada, and hence were more directly under the surveillance of the authorities than Friends elsewhere. Two years before the War of 1812 broke out between the United States and Great Britain, Yonge Street Monthly Meeting reported that £243 11s. 6½d. had been taken from members of their meeting alone by distraint of goods in lieu of military service, and that eight of their members had been imprisoned for one month because of their refusal to pay fines.† As there was no uniformity in reporting the "sufferings of Friends" to the superior meetings, it is impossible to arrive at any accurate estimate of what their financial losses actually were, but they must have amounted to thousands of dollars.

Friends in other districts suffered similar disabilities, though perhaps not quite so severely. Corey Spencer, a prominent Friend of West Lake Monthly Meeting, and one of the pioneers of Hallowell Township (Prince Edward County), had his teams requisitioned in 1813 to carry military supplies to Kingston, to Myers Creek (now Belleville), to York, and to other points. Dragoons and their horses were

* *Yonge Street Preparative Meeting*, 12/5/1808, reported that "Peter Hunter has attended at a training and answered to his name in order to save his fine". He was disciplined forthwith.

Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, 14/12/1809, reported that "Elijah Winn hath attended at a training in order to save his fine". Others who paid their fines were likewise dealt with by the meeting.

† *Records of Canada Half Year's Meeting*, 31/1/1810. In 1818 the amount reported from Yonge Street was \$500.87.

billeted upon him, sometimes for a month at a time. In some cases he was given certificates for these "services", thereby entitling him to payment later from the Government. But these he consistently refused to accept. When he likewise refused to pay the special tax levied upon Quakers in lieu of military service, his goods were seized under distraint and sold. A memorandum exists of the sale of seven barrels of flour and of four bushels of wheat which were disposed of at public auction in order to raise the amount of the fine. The money from the sale, together with the costs of the legal action amounted to \$60.00, which was, of course, more than the original fine which Corey Spencer had refused to pay. Nicholas Brown, a prominent Friend of Pickering Meeting, presented to Friends "a public testimony of wrong doing, because he had so far complied with a military requisition as to drive his own team when impressed for a military purpose; for which he expressed a hearty sorrow and condemned the same as being a violation of our testimony against war". The records further state "that after a time of solid deliberation, the meeting accepts the same as satisfaction"; by which was meant that his voluntary acknowledgement of error was regarded as satisfactory without taking any further disciplinary action. Another member, Lewis Powell, was, however, dealt with by a committee because "he had given way to passion so far as to threaten a man with violence who imprest (*sic*) his team, and also of using deception to the officers of the Government to prevent the teams going".

The above instances have been given as typical cases of what Friends in Canada underwent in 1812-14 on behalf of their peace testimony. The Society imposed on their members a stern code; but they uncompromisingly accepted what they understood to be the full implications of their peace testimony, and, as in the last instance given above, they would tolerate no evasion of its consequences.

The political and social unrest in Canada which culminated in the Rebellion of 1837-38 was another episode which

put to the test the peace principles of the Society. The fact that during these troubled times a number of young Quakers were so stirred with resentment that they forgot for the moment the long established peace principles of the Society and joined the Rebels, might be regarded as evidence of the inherent justice of the Reformers' cause and the validity of their opposition to the misrule of the governing class, usually called the "Family Compact".

A young Friend of Uxbridge Meeting, Joseph Gould, the son of Jonathan Gould, one of the first pioneers of the district in 1805, has given an interesting account of his connection with this political movement.* A staunch Reformer and an outspoken opponent of the "Family Compact", he nevertheless advocated only constitutional agitation, trusting that the Home Government would soon recognize the justice of their complaints and make redress. He says that at one of the last secret political meetings held by Mackenzie at Stouffville, just before his attack on Toronto, he tried to persuade Mackenzie to wait a little longer and not to go on with his desperate plan of an appeal to arms. It would have been well for Mackenzie if he had heeded the moderate counsels of Gould; and there were doubtless many others like him who would have preferred constitutional agitation, but who at the last moment were overruled by the more violent elements. Gould says:

"I was taunted, with cowardice because I refused to give encouragement or approval to violent measures." . . . "On the same day that the attack was made, I found myself surrounded by about fifty of my friends from Brock, Scott, and Uxbridge, who insisted upon my going with them. They refused to give heed to my remonstrance. They claimed that I should be manifesting a great deal of cowardice if I did not go with them after all I had said about the abuses we had complained of and from which the country was suffering. I, therefore, went with them. We arrived that evening at Montgomery's hotel, which was Mackenzie's headquarters, two miles north of the city."

* W. H. Higgins. *Life and Times of Joseph Gould*, op. cit., pp. 65, 106.

Joseph Gould was with the company of rebels under Mathews, and was captured in the skirmish on Yonge Street. For five weeks he was imprisoned with a number of his confederates in the Legislative Council chamber, which was pressed into service, since the gaol at York was crowded to overflowing. Later he was sentenced to transportation, but was saved from this fate by Lord Durham's Proclamation of a general amnesty. His interest in politics was not ended by this experience, for in 1854 he was elected as the first member of Parliament for his constituency of North Ontario.

The events on Yonge Street in the Rebellion of '37 and '38 have generally occupied too much of the centre of the stage, and as a consequence have tended to obscure the widespread character of the discontent, particularly in the back townships of the Western part of the Province. In a sense the Rebellion may be regarded as a movement of the Frontier elements against a privileged aristocracy, and it had various sectional aspects which have been but little examined. The Quaker settlements in Yarmouth and Norwich Townships have a special bearing on this problem.

Yarmouth Township in the London District had been first settled by Quakers, brought there about 1813 largely through the efforts of Jonathan Doan, who was not only the first pioneer of the district, but built and operated the first grist mill and tannery in this locality. As the majority of the settlers hereabout had originally emigrated from the United States, they were regarded by the Tory officials as tainted with republican ideas, and hence as "disloyal". The refusal of the Yarmouth Quakers to serve in the militia was evidently interpreted in this way; and they were, as a result, subjected to petty persecution of a most irritating nature. When they refused to drill, the Military collected the fines by pillaging their houses and property. From one Friend they took a fat hog; from another a watch; from another the blankets off his bed; from others, cheese, books, furniture, wearing apparel. The most trifling reasons were made an excuse to bring a Quaker before a magistrate and have him mulcted. On one

occasion, however, official zeal overreached itself. The story is told of a county officer who on going to a house in the Yarmouth district on the fourth of July, noticed something striped which looked suspiciously like an American flag hanging out of the window. The owner of the house was promptly arrested and taken thirty miles away, to Port Burwell, to answer a charge of treason. The magistrate, Colonel Burwell, when the charge was read, ordered the official who laid the complaint to produce the offending flag before the court. The "evidence" when produced proved, however, to be only the hired man's striped shirt which had been hung out of the window to dry. The magistrate swore that any man who did not know the difference between a striped shirt and the American flag was not fit to be an officer. But while the accused was released from custody, the story is silent as to whether the officer was released from his job; though the probability is strongly against such an assumption.* This kind of petty persecution at last went beyond endurance and smouldering discontent flared up into revolt.

The leader of the "Patriots" in South Yarmouth was George Lawton, an Englishman who had settled in the district, who by his industry and natural gifts had won the respect and confidence of many of the younger men in the community. It was principally his voice and example which roused the fighting spirit in some of the young Quakers of Yarmouth so that they forgot the peace principles of their fathers and became active belligerents in the Rebellion. A "Patriot" company was organized in Yarmouth, which it was intended should join the forces under Dr. Duncombe at the village of Scotland, in the vicinity of Brantford. Their plans miscarried; and with the approach of the Loyalist troops under Colonel MacNab the Rebels dispersed. Some went home and lay low till the troubles blew over, while the others fled to the American frontier and were later captured at Windsor, where an invading American force had attempted

* Frank Hunt, *Friends in Yarmouth Township*, *The Globe*, (Toronto), September, 1890.

to assist in what they naively termed the "liberation of Canada". Four of those captured at this time were promptly shot by Colonel Prince, while forty-four were taken to London for trial, of which number six were hanged in the court-house square in London. The remaining prisoners were either ordered out of the country, or sentenced to transportation to Van Dieman's Land for varying periods.

After the Revolt was really over, Loyalist troops from the neighbouring towns of St. Thomas and London made frequent incursions into the Yarmouth district, seizing as contraband of war, horses, waggons, cattle, in fact anything of value which the settlers possessed. Cattle and horses were driven into the bush on the approach of the troops, and kept there as long as the "Loyalists" were in the neighbourhood. The Quaker settlements in Norwich Township to the north of Yarmouth suffered in the same way. An old settler writing about loyalty and disloyalty, in 1837 and 1838, sarcastically mentions those who "swore and swaggered in front of raw recruits", and "led raids into Norwich in which some scores of Quaker farm yards were reduced, as many pig-pens carried by storm, and bleaching yards sacked and razed".*

Among those executed in London as a ring-leader in the late Rebellion was Joshua Gillam Doan, son of Jonathan Doan, the first Quaker pioneer of Yarmouth. As a birthright member Joshua Doan might be considered a Quaker, though his connection with the Society may have been purely nominal. The sympathies of the whole district were certainly with Joshua Doan and the cause he represented, though most Friends were careful to avoid any active partisanship. After the execution of Joshua, his brother Israel finally received permission from the authorities to have his body removed from London to the Friends' burying-ground at Sparta. A tremendous crowd gathered to attend the funeral, which was held in the old meeting house at the north edge of the village. Sarah Haight, a prominent woman minister of Yarmouth meeting, preached the funeral sermon, while outside, pacing

* *Oxford Star*, December 15th, 1848.

up and down the meeting-house yard, was the bereaved brother, Israel Doan. At the close of the meeting, the body of Joshua Doan was carried about a mile and a half to the Friends' burying-ground, which had been given by his father for the use of the meeting. The unmarked grave, known to but few to-day, may still be seen of the militant Quaker Patriot of '38. So far as our records go, Joseph Gould and Joshua Doan were the only Quakers who took any prominent part in the Rebellion.

Norwich, like the Yarmouth Settlement, was also a centre of rebellion. But apparently only a very few Friends, four or five at most, were directly implicated in it. Solomon Lossing, of Norwich, a member of the large Quaker family of that name and a connection of Peter Lossing, the first settler in this district, was tried for treason in Hamilton in 1838. After a protracted trial, in which the difficulty of securing material witnesses caused much delay, Solomon Lossing was finally acquitted. According to John Treffry, of Norwich, who was present at the trial, "the verdict of 'not guilty' was to the great satisfaction of all present".*

While the records of Norwich Monthly Meeting show evidence of much sympathy with the cause of the Reform party, the corporate sense of the meeting was against any act of belligerency on either side. Thomas English was disowned, for example, because "he so far disregarded the good order of our Society as to comply with a military requisition". This means, presumably, that he had given active support to the Tory government. But on the other hand, Edward Carmen was dealt with because "he had so far disregarded the good order and discipline of our religious Society as to take up arms in a military manner and against government". Consequently, as the records state, "having been laboured with without effect, we, therefore, disown him from being any longer a member of our Society, until he make satisfaction."†

* John Treffry, *Diary*, 1838 (unpublished).

† *Norwich Monthly Meeting*, 11/4/1838.

When the English Friend, Joseph John Gurney, was in Norwich in 1839, he says that he had "two large meetings on First Day, in which I had to proclaim Christ and his peaceable reign against all tumult and factions. I afterwards found that many of the rebels were present. I also prayed for the Queen."* Joseph John Gurney afterwards attended the Half Year's Meeting at Yonge Street which he says "was held in a large rustic meeting house; it occupied parts of three successive days and was an occasion of much interest. The sincere and simple hearted people of whom it was composed excited my regard and sympathy. They had been exposed to many troubles during the late political excitement. An earnest desire appeared to prevail that the members of our Society, throughout the province, should keep clear of all the jarring and the tumults of political parties; that they might 'study to be quiet and mind their own business'. This indeed was the general habit; yet everyone felt that it was a day of temptation and difficulty. Two of their young men had been thrown into jail at Hamilton, and retained there for sixteen days in consequence of their being unable on conscientious ground to serve in the militia."† In another place Joseph John Gurney says: "The spirit of many on both sides appeared lamentably bad, and wherever we went we found ourselves constrained to plead for the cause of order and Christian moderation."‡

It seems reasonable to believe that the presence of these active centres of good-will, and the peaceable example of these little groups of Friends, especially under great provocation, must have exerted a calming and beneficent influence upon the people of Upper Canada during these troubled times. These little groups were the salt of the earth, helping to keep sweet and wholesome the life of their communities.

The importance given by Friends to the indwelling voice of conscience has, on the whole, made them tolerant of other

* J. B. Braithwaite, *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney, op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 179.

† *Ibid*, vol. ii., p. 180.

‡ *Ibid*, vol. ii., p. 178.

peoples' views, and this characteristic, combined with a certain amount of native common sense, has saved the Society from fanaticism, or from playing the role of importunate cranks. Nevertheless with quiet insistence they have not hesitated on various occasions to put forward their views and to give a reason for the faith that lay in them.

The first Canada Yearly Meeting of Friends, held at Pickering in 1867, addressed to the newly established government of the Dominion of Canada, a document presenting the historic position of Friends regarding war, oaths, and liberty of conscience. Four hundred copies of this document were printed for general distribution; while two Friends travelled all the way to Ottawa to present a copy in person to Viscount Monck, the first Governor-General of the Dominion, and to John A. Macdonald, the first leader of the government. This Friendly deputation was well received, and its members reported that they "had satisfactory interviews" with both these officials.

Two years later a concern had evidently arisen in the minds of a number of Friends that many ancient grudges and misunderstandings were perpetuated by a spirit of narrow, aggressive nationalism, which distorted a truthful interpretation of history. A committee was, therefore, appointed by Canada Yearly Meeting, in 1869, to examine the text books used in the public schools of Ontario with a view to eliminating some of these objectionable features. In 1870 the Committee reported that they had "a personal interview with Egerton Ryerson, Chief Superintendent of Common Schools, and laid before him the grounds of Friends' uneasiness with the authorized school books. He received them with much openness and expressed regret that his attention had not been called to the subject before publication, as he would have had those objectionable portions so amended as to be satisfactory. He further said there was no wish on his part, nor of the compiling committee, that a martial spirit should be promoted, but as the books were stereotyped, an alteration would be attended with great expense. He further said that

when they were amended he would give the needful attention to the subject complained of.”* To what extent this promise was actually carried out has not been discovered; but the effort of this little group of Friends at this early date to secure a mental disarmament in the teaching and interpretation of history in the common schools of Ontario was a noteworthy experiment.

In 1896 the Hicksite branch of Friends sent a deputation to Ottawa to place before the government Friends’ views on: “The Responsibilities of Public Men, Militarism, Temperance, Judicial Oaths, and Capital Punishment.” The committee “had an interview with the Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) in his office, and were received in the kind and courteous manner so characteristic of him. . . . The Prime Minister spoke very kindly of Friends, both in England and America, as having been foremost in the advocacy of reforms, and of Friends everywhere as the best type of citizens. He referred to the pioneer work of Friends in Canada in an appreciative manner.”†

Organized work on behalf of Peace and International Arbitration has been a field of effort in which Friends for a long time have been leaders. One of the earliest Peace Associations in England was the London Peace Society, established in 1816, the year after the downfall of Napoleon. William Allen, the famous Quaker Philanthropist and Preacher, was one of its original promoters. Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, is credited with first suggesting, at a meeting in Boston, Mass., in 1841, the holding of International Peace Conferences “to deliberate on the best methods of adjusting international disputes”. This suggestion was supported by men and women of good-will in both America and England, and from this small beginning there eventually developed the great Continental Peace Conferences of the next decade.‡ In America the method of conference and open discussion, so

* *Minutes of Canada Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1870.*

† *Minutes of Genesee Yearly Meeting, 1897, p. 13.*

‡ R. M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism, op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 722-724.

familiar to Friends in the conduct of their own business, was promoted by Albert K. Smiley, of New York Yearly Meeting, by the inauguration in 1894 of the first Lake Mohonk Conference. The Lake Mohonk Conferences have been one of the most important influences in creating public opinion in Canada and the United States which favoured arbitration instead of war as a method of settling international disputes. The most important peace organization among Friends in the western hemisphere is "The Peace Association of Friends in America", first established in 1867 to combine all the efforts of the various Yearly Meetings on behalf of peace. Canada Yearly Meeting became affiliated with this important organization in 1891.

The outbreak of the Boer War in 1899 found the Society of Friends in Canada, as elsewhere, very sensitive to the currents of opinion in the country, and deeply concerned at the passions which the war aroused on all sides. Both branches of the Society passed strong resolutions condemning the war spirit in Canada, which were given as much publicity as possible. This expression of opinion was far from popular. There were few groups or individuals who desired to run counter to the strong tide of Imperialism at this time, or who cared openly to criticize or to oppose that spirit of wilful domination and aggressive pride which for a period seemed to possess the whole British people. Soon, however, the "maffickings" disgusted the thoughtfully minded; while the unexpected and costly resistance of the Boers turned many others to consider more seriously the evils which a war entered upon inconsiderately and lightly may bring in its train.

At the conclusion of the war the usual reaction followed, and in its wake came one of the first organized Peace Societies in Canada. This organization was started chiefly through the efforts of the "Friends' Association of Toronto", which was composed of a little group of Hicksite Friends. "The Peace and Arbitration Society", as this organization was called, enlarged the scope of its efforts by securing the co-operation of others outside the society. It was quite

undenominational in character and came to exercise considerable influence, having had as its officers at various times men like Professor Horning, of Victoria College, Professor McCurdy, of University College, and Sir William Mulock. Through the co-operation of this group with others like minded a statement favouring peace and arbitration—which had been previously adopted at Lake Mohonk Conference—was submitted in 1906 to many different organizations in Canada for their approval. Besides receiving the enthusiastic support of many prominent individuals, this document was endorsed by the Boards of Trade of Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa, Hamilton, Winnipeg, and also by the Canadian Manufacturers Association.

But while in Canada, as in almost every civilized country in the world, the cause of Peace was making certain headway, there had not as yet been created a "Peace System", or any adequate machinery which would enable this potential force of intelligent, Christian good-will to express itself in action. On the other hand, the diplomatic and economic machinery of the European nations was geared up to a vast complicated "war system", which the diplomatists believed they controlled, but which when once set in motion was about as susceptible to rational control as an avalanche.

Presentment of the terrific danger which this situation involved, and constructive suggestion as to how it might be averted, were contained in a resolution issued by Canada Yearly Meeting in 1913.* "Can it be denied", the Resolution said, "that at any previous time was there such a narrow space between a terrible cataclysm of war and the adoption of general arbitration in its stead?" The Resolution then suggested that instead of voting money for armaments which separated the peoples of the world into hostile camps, that appropriations be made to create a National Peace Commission, or Department of Peace to explore the possibilities of building up a peace system in Europe and of removing the causes of international friction and ill-will. The Resolution

* *Minutes of Canada Yearly Meeting, 1913*, pp. 23-26.

was prophetic both of the impending danger to the whole civilized world, and of the only way of escape.

Unfortunately, the voices neither of Reason nor of Christian good-will were heard in the Chancelleries of Europe, which were suddenly caught in a net of their own spreading. In June, 1914, an explosion in the Balkans set in motion this vast system of armed preparedness which was to preserve the peace of the world. Mobilization and counter-mobilization were always one step ahead of the frantic efforts of the diplomatists to gain control of the situation or to localize its effects, with the result that almost before the peoples of Europe realized what had happened their frontiers had been invaded and they had been committed to the most destructive war in all history. The suddenness of this catastrophe to the vast, unreflecting majority, and the deep rooted conviction that they were in the right, and that they were not the aggressors in a conflict which had been forced upon them, was not only felt by the people of the British Empire, but it was passionately believed by every nation involved in the war. This conviction was backed by press and pulpit in every country, and later by an organized system of propaganda which, while purporting to keep up the war morale, blasted the very souls of men with all the indecencies of hate.

The Society of Friends in Great Britain was the first to face the crucial test of the Great War. A few young Friends to whom the Peace Testimony of the Society was merely traditional, either were swept along with the popular current, or they joined the army, conscientiously believing that this war was really different from other wars and that in this direction lay their duty. But the Society of Friends as a body never wavered in its testimony that war is a denial of Christ's way of life, and "that the fundamental unity of men in the family of God is the one enduring reality." "Our duty is clear"—a message issued by London Yearly Meeting said—"to be courageous in the cause of love and in the hate of hate."*

* *To Men and Women of Good Will in the British Empire.* A message issued by London Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1914.

Fortunately Friends were able to give this conviction reality and visible form; for the call "to be courageous in the cause of love" was one already familiar to the Society. At the time of the Franco-Prussian War, in 1870, Friends had organized relief work during the siege of Metz and later of Paris. They had also carried on extensive relief work in the district of the Loire. Altogether they had raised about one million dollars for this mission of love among the French people.

Work along similar lines was now organized in 1914 by a War Victims Relief Committee, and also by a voluntary ambulance unit under the Friends' Ambulance Committee. The Ambulance Unit was formed at the beginning of the war by Philip J. Baker, a distinguished athlete and a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. The first expedition which was sent to Dunkirk, consisted of forty-three men and eight cars. At the end of the war the Unit had six hundred men with a dozen hospitals under its care. The two hospital ships conducted by the Unit carried 33,000 men back to Britain; its motor convoys carried over 260,000 sick and wounded; and its four ambulance trains conveyed over half a million patients. This work was all done voluntarily without pay, while some of the men even paid their own expenses.* There was also a group of Friends working under the eminent historian, George Macaulay Trevelyan, with the British Ambulance Unit of Italy; though this Unit had no official connection with the Society of Friends.

The first work of the English Relief Committee was largely organized by T. Edmund Harvey, M.P., and Dr. Hilda Clark, a granddaughter of John Bright. The Relief Workers adopted as their emblem the famous black and red star which had been worn by the Quaker Relief workers in the Franco-Prussian War. The main area of the English Friends' Relief work was in the valley of the upper Marne, between Bar-le-Duc and Châlons-sur-Marne. Their medical work included

* John W. Graham, *Conscription and Conscience, A History of 1916-1919*. London, 1922, pp. 158-159.

Meaburn Tatham and James E. Miles. *The Friends' Ambulance Unit*, London, 1919.

various nursing centres, a Children's Hospital, and a Maternity Hospital at Châlons. At the end of the war their Equipes and Relief Centres were in over a hundred different places in France. In July, 1917, Friends in America began to organize a Relief Unit of their own to co-operate with the English Relief Committee. The campus and buildings of Haverford College (near Philadelphia) were placed at the disposal of the Unit and became its training headquarters. Dr. Rufus M. Jones, of Haverford, was the chairman of the American Friends' Service Committee which directed this relief work and the raising of funds necessary for its maintenance.* The American Friends' Service Committee, in co-operation with the English Committee, expended in cash and in kind considerably over \$50,000,000; while together they sent in the neighbourhood of 2,000 workers into various fields of service not only in Western and Central Europe, but in Russia, in the Balkans, in Syria, and in the Far East.†

The Relief and Ambulance work begun by English Friends, and supported by every group of Friends in America, was a very practical demonstration of "a service of love in war time". There were a number of Friends, however, in Canada (and this was true of the Society everywhere) who were only nominal members, or for whom the Quaker testimony regarding war was merely an inherited tradition. They understood it, perhaps, as a beautiful ideal, but not as an active way of life in war time as well as at all other times. These followed what for them was the only possible course. A few (perhaps a half dozen) joined the Canadian or British army, three or four the Military Red Cross, while the son of one prominent Toronto Friend entered the Air Service, in which he laid down his life. English Friends had, however, demonstrated the possibility of performing alternative service consistent with the Quaker peace testimony, which was under-

* The story of the work of the American and English Relief Units has been told by Rufus M. Jones in *A Service of Love in War Time*, New York, 1920.

† Ruth Fry, *A Quaker Adventure*, London, 1926, gives more particularly the story of the Relief Work undertaken by English Friends.

taken by several young Canadian Friends. Four young Friends joined the Ambulance Units (one of them the French, and three others the Italian Unit), while six entered the Reconstruction Unit in France, serving under the American Friends' Service Committee. A very practical contribution of Canada Yearly Meeting of Friends was the voluntary closing of Pickering College, and the free loan of its buildings and grounds to the Canadian Government as a hospital for mental cases.

When conscription was brought into Canada by the Military Service Act of 1917, the bill contained a so-called "conscience clause".* This clause did not, however, meet the well established position of the Society of Friends in their total repudiation of the war system, inasmuch as the exemption permitted by the Act was from *combatant service* only, while it was left to the judgment of a Tribunal to decide whether the objector was really conscientious or not. Consequently, while a Tribunal could exempt a Friend from actual fighting, he was *not* exempted from non-combatant service in the army. This meant that he might be compelled to wear a uniform, to take the military oath, or in brief to become a part of the military machine. Canadian Friends in the past had never consented to do this, and, as we have already seen, they had even refused to pay the tax imposed in lieu of military service under the old Militia Acts. As a matter of fact there were only a comparatively few young men of military age in the Society of Friends in Canada, and since, with one exception, all the meetings to which they belonged were in rural districts, by far the greater number of them were farmers who, though liable to military service, were in many instances granted exemption by the local Tribunals because of the necessity of carrying on the basic industry of the country.†

* I.e. 11 (f), 7-8 George V., 1917. This clause exempted one "who conscientiously objects to the undertaking of combatant service, and is prohibited from so doing by the tenets and articles of faith in effect on the sixth day of July, 1917, of an organized religious denomination existing and well recognized in Canada at such date, and to which he in good faith belongs".

† This was provided for by 11 (b) of the Military Service Act (*ibid*) i.e., exemption was allowed if "it is expedient in the national interest that the man should instead of being employed in military service be engaged in other work in which he is habitually engaged".

But though the economic situation of most Friends in Canada undoubtedly made their opposition to war much easier to maintain, the genuineness of Friends' objections were recognized by the Canadian Government and by the local Tribunals in a remarkable way. For while the majority of Friends were quite prepared, as in the past, to suffer if necessary the consequences of their refusal on conscientious grounds to have any connection whatsoever with the military, there were (to the certain knowledge of the writer at least) only two instances where local Tribunals in Canada refused to grant total exemption to a Quaker. Two young Friends, both members of Genesee Yearly Meeting, were granted exemption from combatant service by the Tribunals, but *not* from non-combatant service in the Army. On their refusal to engage in any form of non-combatant service under the military they were sentenced, one to a term with hard labour in Kingston Penitentiary, the other to a similar sentence in Burwash Prison. In England, under very different conditions, but involving the same principle, 279 Friends were imprisoned for varying terms because of their refusal to accept any kind of non-combatant service under the military.*

The question of conscientious objectors who were not members of the Society of Friends lies outside of the province of this essay, but their lot was much the harder.† No full data on this phase of the subject has been gathered for Canada, but many English Friends who had joined the Relief or Ambulance Units, believing that this was too easy an alternative or the shirking of the full implications of their Peace testimony, voluntarily returned to England after the passing of the Conscription Act to take their places in prison beside the

* John W. Graham, *Conscription and Conscience*, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

† See narrative of an eye witness, O. K. Pimlott, in J. W. Graham, *Conscription and Conscience*, *op. cit.*, pp. 133, 134. Here is given an account of twenty-five Canadian Conscientious Objectors (one of whom alleged to be a Friend) who after "a particularly cruel incarceration in Canada" were shipped to England. "On their arrival they were beaten and kicked around a field by soldiers", and after several further attempts to break their spirit they were sent to Wandsworth Military Prison. But though under semi-starvation and hard labour, they began to "crack up", they were still obdurate, so that eventually they were sent back to Canada.

conscientious objectors of other denominations. It is estimated that there were "sixteen thousand, one hundred, genuine conscientious objectors in Britain who faced the Tribunals or who otherwise refused to join in the War".* It would seem, therefore, that an increasing number of thoughtful people are coming to believe with Friends that fair weather pacifism, or pacifism in peace time only, has little practical or moral value, and that war, or the abetting of it in any way, is a sin against the highest moral order of the universe.

If this is a reasonable, moral universe, can we not believe that the world is moving towards a new concept of human relationships and a better way of settling disputes between nations than by the international anarchy which produced the Great War? May not the League of Nations, therefore, prove to be a step in the direction of a real Peace System for the world, which will allow those concepts—new in practice, but in theory as old as the "Sermon on the Mount"—to find expression in action? Might there not be a great future for any society or group of men and women who discovered for themselves and really practised the Christianity of Christ?

* John W. Graham, *Conscription and Conscience*, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

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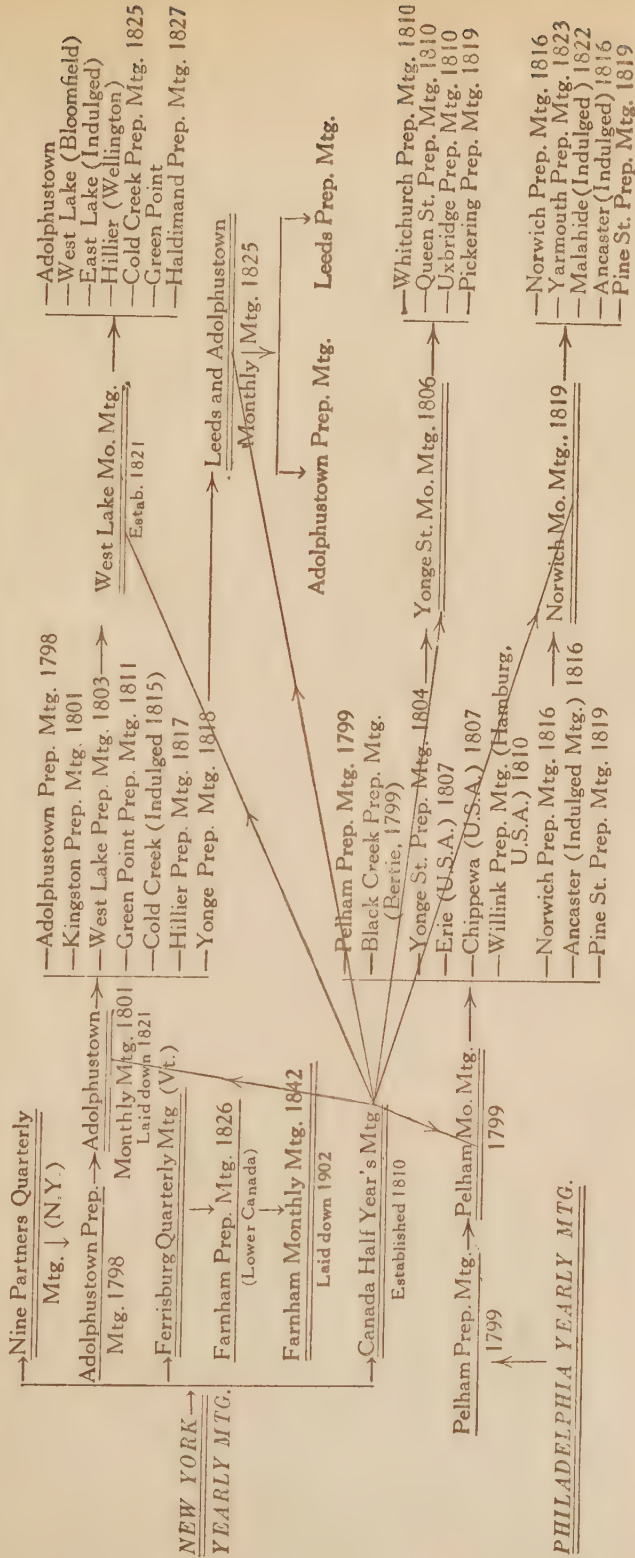
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APPENDIX (b)

CHART I

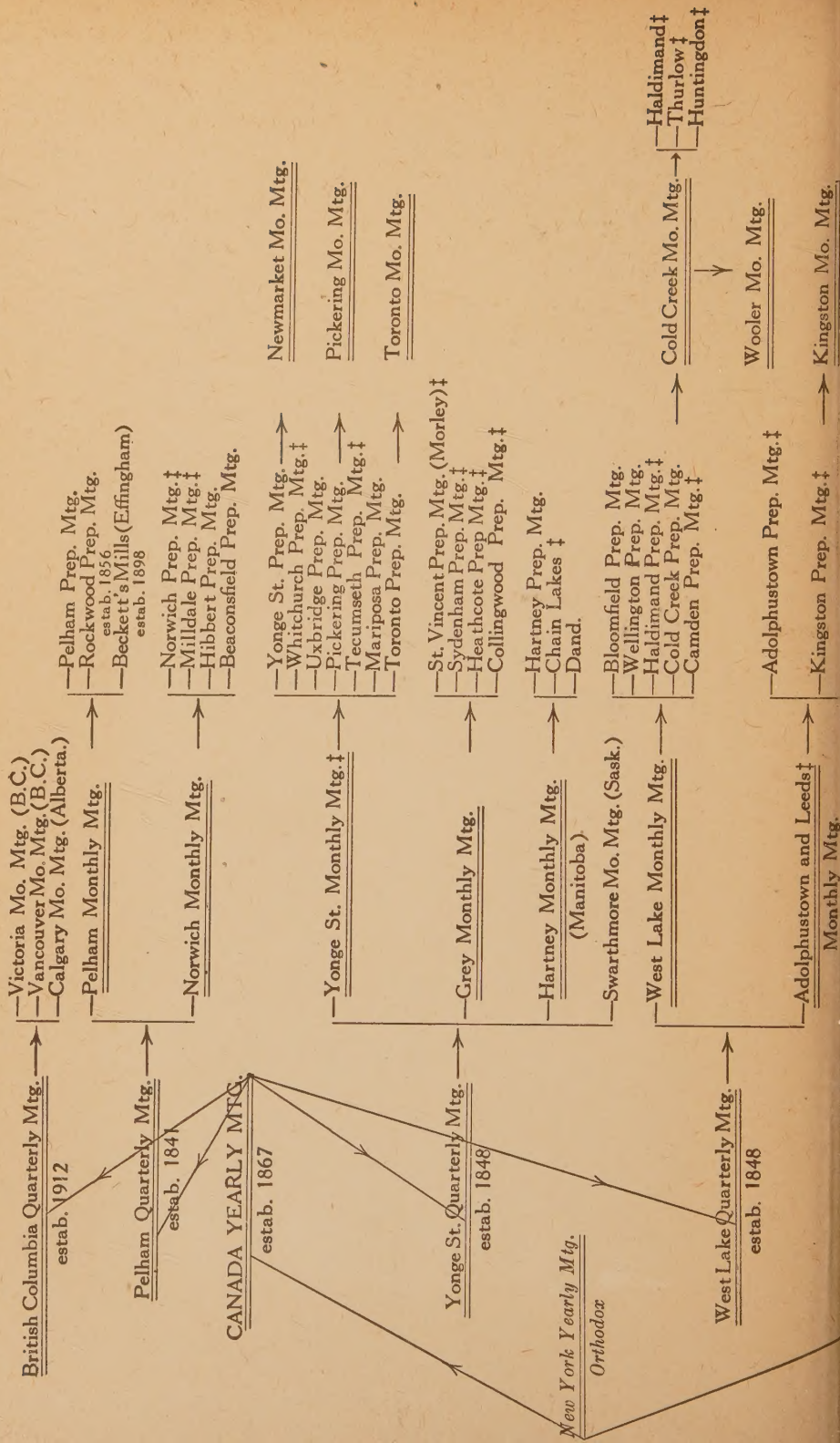
MEETINGS ESTABLISHED BY THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN CANADA PRIOR TO THE "GREAT SEPARATION" OF 1828



APPENDIX (c)

CHART II

CHART OF MEETINGS BELONGING TO "ORTHODOX" AND "HICKSITE" FRIENDS IN CANADA AFTER 1828



—Cataraqui Prep. Mtg. †
 —Camden Prep. Mtg. †
 —Sunbury Prep. Mtg.
 —Colebrook Prep. Mtg. †
 —Moscow Prep. Mtg.

—Yonge St. †
 —Whitchurch (Pine Orchard) †
 —Uxbridge †
 —Schomberg †
 —Toronto (Executive Mtg.)
 —Pickering Prep. Mtg. †
 —Uxbridge Prep. Mtg. †
 —West Lake Prep. Mtg.
 —Green Point Prep. Mtg. †
 (laid down 1873)
 —Haldimand Prep. Mtg. †
 (laid down 1841)
 —Pelham Prep. Mtg.
 —Black Creek Prep. Mtg. †
 (laid down 1869)
 —Battle Creek Prep. Mtg. †
 —Adrian Prep. Mtg. †
 —West Unity Prep. Mtg. †
 —Pine St. Prep. Mtg. †
 (laid down 1893)
 —Norwich Prep. Mtg. †
 (laid down 1893)
 —Yarmouth Prep. Mtg. (Sparta)
 —Malahide Prep. Mtg. †
 (estab. 1845; laid down 1883)
 —Lobo Prep. Mtg. (Coldstream)
 (estab. 1857)
 —Arkona Prep. Mtg. †
 (estab. 1882; laid down 1908)

Mtg.

Dorland, A.G. 289.6 S
 D 734
 A history of the Society of
 Friends (Quakers) in Canada

289.6 S
 D 734

New York Year
 estab. 161

GL

New York Year
 (Hicksville)

Scipio Quarterly Mtg. (U.S.A.)

† Denotes a defunct meeting.

